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REVISED TRANSLATION  
OF THE  
CHAHĀR MAQĀLA

("FOUR DISCOURSES")

OF

· NIZĀMĪ-I-ARŪMĪ  
OF SAMARQAND,

FOLLOWED BY AN ABRIDGED TRANSLATION OF  
MĪRZĀ MUHAMMAD'S NOTES TO THE  
PERSIAN TEXT

BY

EDWARD G. BROWNE,  
M.A., M.B., F.B.A., F.R.C.P.



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*and to promote those researches into the History, Literature, Philo-  
sophy and Religion of the Turks, Persians and Arabs, to which, from  
his Youth upwards, until his premature and deeply lamented Death,  
in his forty-fifth year, on December 5, 1801, his life was devoted.*

تِلْكَ أَعْمَالُنَا تَدُلُّ عَلَيْنَا . فَانْظُرُوا بَعْدَنَا إِلَى الْأَنْبَارِ

"These are our works, these works our souls display;  
Behold our works when we have passed away."

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## PREFACE

TWO reasons have led me to publish this revised translation of the *Chahār Maqāla*, or "Four Discourses," of Nizāmī-i-'Arūḍī of Samarqand. The first is that the translation which I originally published in the July and October numbers of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1899, and which also appeared as a separate reprint, is exhausted, and is now hardly obtainable. The second is that that translation contains many defects and errors which it is now possible to amend and correct, partly through the learning and critical acumen brought to bear on the text by Mīrzā Muḥammad of Qazwīn, whose admirable edition, accompanied by copious critical and historical notes in Persian, was published in this Series (xi, 1) in 1910; and partly from the fact that the most ancient and correct MS. of the work at present discovered<sup>1</sup>, that preserved in the Library of 'Ashir Efendi at Constantinople (No. 285), was not available when I made my original translation, while it has served as the basis for Mīrzā Muḥammad's text. Hence my old translation is not only practically unobtainable, but, apart from the defects inherent in a first attempt of this sort, no longer entirely corresponds with what is now the accepted Persian text, so that it is at times liable to confuse and puzzle, rather than to help, the student. The old translation has been carefully revised throughout, and the proofs have all been read by Mīrzā Muḥammad, who supplied many valuable criticisms, together with a good deal of new material in the notes. They have also been diligently read by Muḥammad Iqbāl, one of the Government of India Research Students at Cambridge, who has made many useful suggestions and saved me from numerous small errors. To these and to other friends who have helped me in a lesser degree I am deeply indebted, but special thanks are due to Mr Ralph Shirley, editor

<sup>1</sup> It was copied in Herāt in 835/1431-2.



of the *Occult Review*, and to Mr W. Gornold for the valuable astrological notes with which they have been kind enough to supply me<sup>1</sup>. To facilitate comparison, the points in the translation corresponding with the beginning of each page of the Persian text are indicated by the appropriate Arabic numbers. Mīrzā Muḥammad's notes, which in the original partake of the nature of a running commentary on the text, though materially separated from it, and occupy 200 pages (٩٠—٢٨٩), I have, from considerations of space, rearranged and greatly compressed. The shorter ones appear as foot-notes on the pages to which they refer, while the substance of the longer ones, reduced to a minimum, and shorn of many of the *pièces justificatives* which serve to illustrate them in the original, has been divided according to subject-matter under thirty-two headings, fully enumerated in the following Table of Contents. But although the English notes embody the more important results of Mīrzā Muḥammad's researches, it has been necessary, in order to effect the required condensation, to omit many interesting details and quotations of texts accessible only in rare manuscripts, so that those who read Persian with any facility are strongly recommended to study the original commentary.

A full account of this work and its author is given both in the Persian and English Prefaces to the companion volume containing the text, and it will be sufficient here to summarize the facts set forth more fully in that place.

#### *The Author.*

Aḥmad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Alī of Samarqand, poetically named Nizāmī and further entitled 'Arūḍī (the "Prosodist") flourished in the first half of the sixth century of the *hijra* (twelfth of the Christian era), and seems to have spent most of his life in Khurāsān and Transoxiana. What we know of him is chiefly derived

<sup>1</sup> See Notes XXIV and XXXII, pp. 130-4 and 164-7.

from this book, which contains a good deal of autobiographical material. The events in his life to which he refers lie between the years 504/1110-1111 and 547/1152-3, and we find him successively at Samarqand, Balkh, Herát, Tús and Nishápúr. He was primarily a poet and courtier, but, as we learn from Anecdotes XXXI (p. 74) and XLIII (p. 96), he also practised Astrology and Medicine when occasion arose. His poetry, in spite of the complacency displayed by him in Anecdote XXI (pp. 59-61), was not, if we may judge by the comparatively scanty fragments which have survived, of the highest order, and is far inferior to his prose, which is admirable, and, in my opinion, almost unequalled in Persian. It is by virtue of the *Chahár Maqála*, and that alone, that Nizámí-i-'Arúfí of Samarqand deserves to be reckoned amongst the great names of Persian literature.

*The Book.*

At the present day, apart from the text printed eleven years ago in this series and the rare and bad lithographed edition<sup>1</sup> published at Tihván in 1305/1887-8, the *Chahár Maqála*, so far as at present known, is represented only by three or four MSS., two in the British Museum (Or. 2955, dated 1274/1857-8, and Or. 3507, dated 1017/1608-9), and one in Constantinople transcribed at Herát in 835/1431-2, while a fourth, of which no particulars are available to me, is said to exist in India. During the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of our era it seems to have been better known than during the four succeeding centuries, for it is mentioned or cited in the thirteenth century by 'Awfí (in the *Lubábu'l-Albáb*) and Ibn Isfandiyár (in his History of Tabaristán); in the fourteenth century by Hamdu'lláh Mustawfí of Qazwín (in the *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida*); in the fifteenth century by Dawlatsháh and Jámí (in the *Silsilatu'dh-Dhahab*); and in the sixteenth by the Qádí Ahmád-i-Ghaffárí (*Nigáristán*). It is often referred to as the *Majma'u'n-Nawddir* ("Collection of Rarities"), which the

<sup>1</sup> Indicated by the letter L in a few of the foot-notes.

Turkish bibliographer Hájji Khalífa supposes to be distinct from the *Chahár Maqála*, though, as Mírzá Muḥammad has conclusively proved, these are but two different names for the same book.

Not less remarkable than the style of the *Chahár Maqála* is the interest of its contents, for it contains the only contemporary account of 'Umar Khayyám, and the oldest known account of Firdawsí, while many of the anecdotes are derived from the author's own experience, or were orally communicated to him by persons who had direct knowledge of the facts. The book is therefore one of the most important original sources for our knowledge of the literary and scientific conditions which prevailed in Persia for the two or three centuries preceding its composition, which may be placed with certainty between the years 547/1152 and 552/1157, and with great probability in the year 551/1156<sup>1</sup>. Against this twofold excellence, however, must be set the extraordinary historical inaccuracies of which in several places the author has been guilty, even in respect to events in which he claims to have participated in person. Fifteen such blunders, some of them of the grossest character, have been enumerated by Mírzá Muḥammad in the Preface to the text<sup>2</sup>, and some of these are fully discussed in Notes IV, V, VIII and XXI at the end of this volume. Nor can all these blunders be charitably ascribed to a careless or officious copyist, since the point of the story is in several cases dependent on the error.

Here at all events is the translation of the book, of the value and interest of which the reader, aided if necessary by the notes, can form his own judgement.

<sup>1</sup> See p. xvi of the English Preface to the text.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. xx-xxiii of the English Preface.

EDWARD G. BROWNE.

April 11, 1921.

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*In the name of God the Merciful the Clement.*

PRAISE, thanks and gratitude to that King who, by the intervention<sup>1</sup> of the Cherubic and Angelic Spirits, brought into being the World of Return and Restoration, and, by means of that World, created and adorned the World of Growth and Decay, maintaining it by the commands and prohibitions of the Prophets and Saints, and restraining it by the swords and pens of Kings and Ministers. And blessings upon [Muhammad] the Lord of both worlds, who was the most perfect of the Prophets; and invocations of grace upon his Family and Companions, who were the most excellent of Saints. And honour to the King of this time, that learned, just, divinely-strengthened, heaven-aided and ever-victorious monarch *Husāmū'd-Dīn wa'd-Dīn*, Help of Islām and the Muslims, Exterminator of the infidels and polytheists, Subduer of the heretical and the froward, Chief of hosts in the worlds, Pride of Kings and Emperors, Succourer of these days, Protector of mankind, Arm of the Caliphate, Beauty of the Faith and Glory of the Nation, Controller of the Arabs and the Persians, noblest of mankind, *Shamsū'l-Ma'ālī*, *Malikū'l-Umarā'*, *Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Mas'ūd*<sup>2</sup>, Helper of the Prince of Believers, may his life be according to his desires, may the greater part of the world be assigned to his name, and may the more-orderly government of the human race be directed by his care! For to-day he is the most excellent of the kings of the age in nobility, pedigree, judgement, statesmanship, justice, equity, valour and generosity, as well as in the enriching of his territory, the embellishment of his realms, the maintenance of his friends, the subjugation of his foes, the raising of armies, the safe-guarding of the people, the securing of the roads, and the tranquillizing of the realms<sup>3</sup>, by virtue of upright judgement, clear understanding, strong resolve and firm determination; by whose excellence the concatenation of the House of Shansab<sup>4</sup> is held together and maintained in order, and by whose perfection the strong arm of that Dynasty's fortune is strengthened and recognized. May God Almighty

<sup>1</sup> L. has *بلا توسط* "without the intervention."

<sup>2</sup> I.e. *Husāmū'd-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Fakhrū'd-Dīn Mas'ūd*. See Note I at the end.

<sup>3</sup> L. has *از ممالک* "from perils," instead of *ممالك*.

<sup>4</sup> See Note I at the end, and the *Tuhfat-i-Nadiri* (ed. Nassau Lees), pp. 101 et seqq.

Instead of *Shansab*, the correct reading, B. has *انسانیت* and L. *آل شیب*.



vouchsafe to him and to the other kings of that line a full portion of dominion and domain, throne and fortune, fame and success, command and prohibition, by His Favour and universal Grace!

# SECTION I.

It is an old custom and ancient convention, which custom is maintained and observed, that an author (r) or compiler, in the introduction to his discourse and preface of his book, should commemorate somewhat of his patron's praise, and record some prayer on behalf of the object of his eulogy. But I, a loyal servant, instead of praise and prayer for this prince, will make mention in this book of the favours ordained and vouchsafed by God Most High and Most Holy to this King of kingly parentage, that, these being submitted to his world-illuminating judgement, he may betake himself to the expression of his thanks for them. For in the uncreated Scripture and unmade Word God says, "*Verily if ye be thankful I will give you increase*"; for the gratitude of the servant is an alchemy for the favours of the Munificent Lord. Briefly, then, it behoves this great King and puissant Lord to know that to-day, upon the whole of this globe of dust, and within the circle of this green parasol<sup>1</sup>, there is no king in more ample circumstances than this monarch, nor any potentate enjoying more abundant good than this sovereign. He hath the gift of youth and the blessing of constant health; his father and mother are alive; congenial brothers are on his right hand and on his left. And what father is like his sire, the mighty, divinely-strengthened, ever-victorious and heaven-aided *Fakhr'u'd-Dawla wa'd-Din*<sup>2</sup>, Lord of Irān, King of the Mountains (may God prolong his existence and continue to the heights his exaltation!), who is the most puissant Lord of the age and the most excellent Prince of the time in judgement, statecraft, knowledge, courtesy, swordsmanship, strength of arm, treasure and equipment! Supported by ten thousand men bearing spears and handling reins he hath made himself a shield before his sons, so that not even the zephyr may blow roughly on one of his servants. In her chaste seclusion and unassailable abode is a prayerful lady (may God perpetuate her exaltation!) whose every invocation, breathed upwards at earliest dawn to the Court of God, works with the far-flung host and wheeling army. Where again is a brother like the royal Prince *Shamsu'd-Dawla wa'd-Din*<sup>3</sup>, Light of Islām and the Muslims (may his victories be

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'an*, xiv, 7.

<sup>2</sup> The variant چتر (wheel, firmament), though more attractive than چتر (parasol, umbrella), rests on weaker manuscript authority.

<sup>3</sup> *Fakhr'u'd-Din Mas'ud ibn 'Isa'u'd-Din Hasan*. See Note I at the end.

<sup>4</sup> *Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad ibn Fakhr'u'd-Din Mas'ud*. See Note I at the end.

glorious!), who reaches the extreme term and limit in the service of this my Lord (whose exaltation may God perpetuate!)? Praise be to God that this my Lord falls short neither in reward nor retribution; yea, by his face the world enjoys clear vision, and life passes sweetly by his beauty! And a blessing yet greater is this, that the All-Perfect Benefactor and Unfailing Giver hath bestowed on him an uncle like the Lord of the World and Sovereign of the East, 'Alid'ud-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abū 'Alī al-Husayn ibn al-Husayn', *'Ikhtiyādu Amrī l-Mūminīn* (may God prolong his life and cause his kingdom to endure!), who, with fifty thousand mail-clad men, strenuous in endeavour, hurled back all the hosts of the world (r) and set in a corner all the kings of the age. May God (blessed and exalted is He!) long vouchsafe all to one another, grant to all abundant enjoyment of one another's company, and fill the world with light by their achievements, by His Favour, and Bounty, and Grace!

#### BEGINNING OF THE BOOK.

This loyal servant and favoured retainer Ahmad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Alī an-Nizāmī al-'Arūfī as-Samarqandī, who for forty-five years hath been devoted to the service of this House and inscribed in the register of service of this Dynasty, desireth to dedicate to the Supreme Imperial Court (may God exalt it!) some work equipped according to the canons of Philosophy with decisive proofs and trenchant arguments, and to set forth therein what kingship truly is, who is truly king, whence is derived this honourable office, to whom rightly appertaineth this favour, and in what manner such an one should shew his gratitude for, and after what fashion accept, this privilege, so that he may become second to the Lord of the sons of men<sup>1</sup> and third to the Creator of the Universe. For even so hath God, in His Incontrovertible Scripture and Eternal Word, co-ordinated on one thread and shewn forth on one string the pearls represented by these three exalted titles. *Obey God,*" saith He, "*and obey the Apostle, and such as possess authority amongst yourselves*."

For in the grades of existences and the ranks of the intelligibles, after the Prophetic Function, which is the supreme limit of man's attainment, there is no rank higher than kingship, which is naught else than a Divine gift. God, glorious and exalted is He, hath accorded this position to the King of this age, and bestowed on him this degree, so that he may walk after the way of former kings and maintain the people after the manner of bygone ages.

<sup>1</sup> 'Alid'ud-Dīn Husayn, called *Jahān-rūs*, "the world-consumer," A.H. 544-556 (A.D. 1149-1161). See Notes I and XV at the end, and p. 31, n. 1 *ad calc.*

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* to the Prophet, who is subordinate only to God, as the king is to him.

<sup>3</sup> *Qur'ān*, iv, 59.

## SECTION I.

The Royal Mind (may God exalt it!) should deign to know that all existing beings fall necessarily into one of two categories. Such being is either self-existent, or it exists through some other. That Being which is self-existent is called "*the Necessarily Existent*," which is God most High and most Holy, who existeth by virtue of Himself, and who, therefore, hath always existed, since He awaiteth none other; and who (1) will always exist, since He subsisteth by Himself, not by another. But that existence whose being is through another is called "*Contingent Being*," and this is such as we are, since our being is from the seed, and the seed is from the blood, and the blood is from food, and food is from the water, the earth and the sun, whose existence is in turn derived from something else; and all these are such as yesterday were not, and to-morrow will not be. And on profound reflection [it appeareth that] this causal nexus reacheth upwards to a Cause which deriveth not its being from another, but existeth necessarily in itself; which is the Creator of all, from Whom all derive their existence and subsistence. So He is the Creator of all these things, and all come into being through Him and subsist through Him. And a little reflection on this matter will make it clear that all Phenomena consist of Being tinctured with Not-being, while He is Being characterized by a continuance reaching from Eternity past to Eternity to come. And since the origin of all creatures lies in Not-being, they must inevitably return again to nothing, and the most clear-sighted amongst the human race have said, "*Everything shall return unto its Origin*," more especially in this world of Growth and Decay. Therefore we, who are contingent in our being, have our origin in Not-being; while He, who existeth necessarily, is in His Essence Being, even as He (glorious is His Praise and high His Splendour) saith in the Perspicuous Word and Firm Hand-hold, "*All things perish save His Countenance*."

Now you must know that this world, which lies in the hollow of the Heaven of the Moon<sup>2</sup> and within the circle of this first Sphere, is called "the World of Growth and Decay." And you must thus conceive it, that within the concavity of the Heaven of the Moon lies the Fire, surrounded by the Heaven of the Moon; and that within the Sphere of the Fire is the Air, surrounded by the Fire; and within the Air is the Water, surrounded by the Air, while within the Water is the Earth, with the Water round about it. And in the middle of the earth is an imaginary point, from

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'an*, xxviii, 88.

<sup>2</sup> This is the lowest or innermost of the nine celestial spheres which environ the earth. Concerning the Muslim Cosmogony, see Dieterici's *Makrokosmos*, pp. 178 et seqq..

which all straight lines drawn to the Heaven of the Moon are equal; and when we speak of "down," we mean this point or what lies nearest to it; and when we speak of "up," we mean the remotest heaven, or what lies nearest to it, this being a heaven<sup>1</sup> above the Zodiacal Heaven, having naught beyond it, for with it the material world terminates, or comes to an end<sup>2</sup>.

Now when God most Blessed and most High, by His effective Wisdom, desired to produce in this world minerals, plants, animals and men, He created the stars, and in particular the sun and moon, whereon He made the growth and decay of these to depend. And the special property of the sun is that (\*) by its reflection it warms all things when it stands opposite to them, and draws them up, that is attracts them, by the medium of heat. So, by its opposition, it warmed the water; and, by means of the warmth, attracted it for a long while, until one quarter of the earth's surface was laid bare, by reason of the much vapour which ascended and rose up therefrom. Now it is of the nature of water to be capable of becoming stone, as it is admitted to do in certain places, and as may be actually witnessed<sup>3</sup>. So mountains were produced from the water by the glow of the sun; and thereby the earth became somewhat elevated above what it had been, while the water retreated from it and dried up, according to that fashion which is witnessed. This portion, therefore, is called the "Uncovered Quarter," for the reason above stated; and is also called the "Inhabited Quarter," because animals dwell therein.

### SECTION III.

When the influences of these stars had acted on the peripheries of these elements, and had been reflected back from that imaginary [central] point, there were produced from the midst of the earth and water, by the aid of the wind and the fire, the products of the inorganic world, such as mountains, mines, clouds, snow, rain, thunder, lightning, shooting stars, comets, meteors, thunder-bolts, halos, conflagrations, fulminations, earthquakes, and springs of all kinds, as has been fully explained in its proper place when discussing the effects of the celestial bodies, but for the explanation and amplification of which there is no room in this brief manual. But when time began, and the cycles of heaven became continuous, and the constitution of this lower world matured, and the time was come for the fertilisation of

<sup>1</sup> This outermost, or ninth, celestial sphere is the *Primum mobile* of the Ptolemaic system, called *al-Falaku'l-Akhar* or *Falaku'l-Akhar* by the Muslim philosophers.

<sup>2</sup> That the material universe is finite and bounded by the Empyrean, or *Falaku'l-Akhar*, is generally accepted by Persian philosophers. See my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 143-144.

<sup>3</sup> The author apparently alludes to petrification and the formation of stalactytes.

that interspace which lies between the water and the air, the vegetable kingdom was manifested. Then God, blessed and exalted is He, created for that substance wherefrom the plants were made manifest four subservient forces and three faculties. Of these four subservient forces one is that which draws to itself whatever is suitable for its purpose, and this is called "the Force Attractive" (*Jaddaba*). Another retains what the first may have attracted, and this is called "the Force Retentive" (*Másika*). The third is that which assimilates what has been attracted, and transmutes it from its former state until it becomes like unto itself, and this is called "the Force Assimilative" (*Haddima*). The fourth is that which rejects what is not appropriate, and it is called "the Force Expulsive" (*Daffa*). And of its three faculties one is that which increaseth it (۱) by diffusing throughout it nutritious matters with a proportionate and equable diffusion. The second is that which accompanies this nutriment until it reaches the extremities. The third is that which, when the organism has attained perfection and begins to tend towards decline, appears and produces ova, in order that, if destruction overtake the parent in this world, this substitute may take its place, so that the order of the world may be immune from injury, and the species may not become extinct. This is called "the Reproductive Faculty" (*Quwwat-i-Muwallida*).

So this Kingdom rose superior to the inorganic world in these several ways which have been mentioned; and the far-reaching Wisdom of the Creator so ordained that these Kingdoms should be connected one with another successively and continuously, so that in the inorganic world the first material, which was clay, underwent a process of evolution and became higher in organisation until it grew to coral (*marján, bussad*), which is the ultimate term of the inorganic world<sup>1</sup> and is connected with the most primitive stage of plant-life. And the most primitive thing in the vegetable kingdom is the thorn, and the most highly developed the date-palm and the grape, which resemble the animal kingdom in that the former needs the male to fertilise it so that it may bear fruit<sup>2</sup>, while the latter flees from its foe. For the vine flees from the bind-weed<sup>3</sup>, a plant which, when it twists round the vine, causes it to shrivel up, wherefore the vine flees from it. In the vegetable kingdom, therefore, there is nothing higher than the date-palm and the vine, inasmuch as they have assimilated themselves to that which is superior to their own kingdom, and have subtly overstepped the limits of their own world, and evolved themselves in a higher direction.

<sup>1</sup> The Pearl, however, seems generally to be placed higher. See Dieterici's *Mikrochaemos*, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See Dieterici's *Mikrochaemos*, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Ashaga*, a species of *Dolichos*. See Lane's Arabic Lexicon, s.v.

SECTION IV. *The Five External Senses.*

Now when this kingdom had attained perfection, and the influence of the "Fathers" of the upper world had reacted on the "Mothers" below, and the interspace between the air and the fire in its turn became involved<sup>1</sup>, a finer offspring resulted and the manifestation of the animal world took place. This, bringing with it the faculties already possessed by the vegetable kingdom, added thereunto two others, one the faculty of discovery, which is called the "Perceptive Faculty" (*Mudrika*), whereby the animal discerns things; the second the power of voluntary movement, by the help of which the animal moves, approaching that which is congenial to it and retreating from that which is offensive, which is called the "Motor Faculty" (*Muharrika*).

Now the "Perceptive Faculty" is subdivided into ten branches, five of which are called the "External Senses," and five the "Internal Senses." The former are "Touch" (*Y*), "Taste," "Sight," "Hearing," and "Smell." Now Touch is a sense distributed throughout the skin and flesh of the animal, so that the nerves perceive and discern anything which comes in contact with them, such as dryness and moisture, heat and cold, roughness and smoothness, harshness and softness. Taste is a sense located in that nerve which is distributed over the surface of the tongue, which detects soluble nutriments in those bodies which come in contact with it; and it is this sense which discriminates between sweet and bitter, sharp and sour, and the like of these. Hearing is a sense located in the nerve which is distributed about the auditory meatus, so that it detects any sound which is discharged against it by undulations of the air, compressed between two impinging bodies, that is to say two bodies striking against one another, by the impact of which the air is thrown into waves and becomes the cause of sound, in that it imparts movement to the air which is stationary in the auditory meatus, comes into contact with it, reaches this nerve, and gives rise to the sensation of hearing. Sight is a faculty, located in the optic nerve which discerns images projected on the crystalline humour, whether of figures or solid bodies, variously coloured, through the medium of a translucent substance which extends from it to the surfaces of reflecting bodies. Smell is a faculty located in a protuberance situated in the fore part of the brain and resembling the nipple of the female breast, which apprehends

<sup>1</sup> By the "Seven Fathers above" and the "Four Mothers below," the seven planets and the four elements are intended.

<sup>2</sup> The four elemental spheres (terrestrial, aqueous, aerial and igneous) present three interspaces (*furja*), in the first of which is produced the mineral kingdom, in the second the vegetable, and in the third the animal. These three are called the "threefold offspring."

what the air inhaled brings to it of odours mingled with the vapours wafted by air-currents, or impressed upon it by diffusion from the odorific body.

#### SECTION V. *The Five Internal Senses*<sup>1</sup>.

Now as to the Internal Senses, some are such as perceive the forms of things sensible, while others are such as apprehend their meanings. The first is the "Composite Sense" (*Hiss-i-mushtarik*), which is a faculty located in the anterior ventricles of the brain, and in its nature receptive of all images perceived by the external senses, and impressed upon them to be communicated to it, such perception being apprehended only when received by it. The second is the Imagination (*Khayál*), a faculty located (A) in the posterior portion of the anterior ventricle of the brain, which preserves what the "Composite Sense" has apprehended from the external senses, so that this remains in it after the subsidence of the sense-impressions. The third is the "Imaginative Faculty" (*Mutakhayyila*), thus called when animals are under discussion, but, in the case of the human soul, named the "Cogitative Faculty" (*Mutafakkira*). This is a faculty located in the middle ventricle of the brain, whose function it is to combine or separate, as the mind may elect, those particular percepts which are stored in the Imagination. The fourth is the "Apprehensive Faculty" (*Wahm*), which is a faculty located in the posterior portion of the middle ventricle of the brain, whose function is to discover the supra-sensual ideas existing in particular percepts, such as that faculty whereby the kid distinguishes between its dam and a wolf, and the child between a spotted rope and a serpent. The fifth is the "Retentive Faculty" (*Háfiza*), also called the "Memory" (*Dhákira*), which is a faculty located in the posterior ventricle of the brain. It preserves those supra-sensual ideas discovered by the "Apprehension"; between which and itself the same relation subsists as between the "Imagination" and the "Composite Sense," though the latter preserves forms, and the former ideas.

Now all these are the servants of the "Animal Soul," a substance having its well-spring in the heart, which, when it acts in the heart, is called the "Animal Spirit," but when in the brain, the "Psychic Spirit," and when in the liver, the "Natural Spirit." It is a subtle vapour which rises from the blood, diffuses itself to the remotest arteries, and resembles the sun in luminosity. Every animal which possesses these two faculties, the Perceptive and the Motor, and these ten subordinate faculties derived therefrom, is called a perfect animal; but if any faculty is lacking in it, defective. Thus the ant has no eyes, and the snake, which is

<sup>1</sup> See my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 144-145.

called the deaf adder, no ears; but none is more defective than the maggot, which is a red worm found in the mud of streams<sup>1</sup>, called therefore *gil-khawdra* ("mud-eater"), but in Transoxiana *ghdk-kirma*<sup>2</sup>. This is the lowest animal, while the highest is the satyr (*nasnás*)<sup>3</sup>, a creature inhabiting the plains of Turkistán, of erect carriage and vertical stature, with wide flat nails. It cherishes a great affection for men; wherever it sees men, it halts on their path and examines them attentively; and when it finds a solitary man, it carries him off, and it is even said that it will conceive from him. This, after (1) mankind, is the highest of animals, inasmuch as in several respects it resembles man; first in its erect stature; secondly in the breadth of its nails; and thirdly in the hair of its head.

### ANECDOTE I.

I heard as follows from Abú Ridá ibn 'Aḍdu's-Salám of Nishápúr in the Great Mosque at Nishápúr, in the year 510/1116-1117:—"We were travelling towards Tamgháj<sup>4</sup>, and in our caravan were several thousand camels. One day, when we were marching in the mid-day heat, we saw on a sand-hill a woman, bare-headed and quite naked, extremely beautiful in form, with a figure like a cypress, a face like the moon, and long hair, standing and looking at us. Although we spoke to her, she made no reply; and when we approached her, she fled, running so swiftly in her flight that probably no horse could have overtaken her. Our muleteers, who were Turks, said that this was a wild man, such as they call *nasnás*." And you must know that this is the noblest of animals in these three respects which have been mentioned.

So when, in the course of long ages and by lapse of time, equilibrium became more delicately adjusted, and the turn came of the interspace which is between the elements and the heavens<sup>5</sup>, man came into being, bringing with him all that existed in the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms, and adding thereto the capacity for abstract concepts. So by reason of in-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dieterici's *Mikrokosmos*, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> The correct reading of this word, which appears in a different form in each MS., is doubtful, and it is probably a local term only. Mírzá Muḥammad takes *ghdk-kirma* as equivalent to *kirm-i-khdk*, "earthworm."

<sup>3</sup> The term *nasnás* either denotes a real animal or a fabulous monster. In the first sense it is used of various kinds of monkeys, e.g. the orang-outang and marmoset; in the latter it is equivalent to the *Shíq* or Half-man (which resembles a man cut in two vertically) of the Arabs, and the *Dju-mardum* of the Persians. See Qazwín's *Ajál-i-Makhkhád*, p. 449; and my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 165, 167.

<sup>4</sup> See Qazwín's *Athar-i-Bilad*, p. 275. China or Chinese Turkistán appears to be meant. See Note II at the end.

<sup>5</sup> See n. 3 at the foot of p. 7 *supra*. This fourth interspace (*furja*) lies outside the "Igneous Sphere" and inside the "Heaven of the Moon."



telligence he became king over all animals, and brought all things under his control. Thus from the mineral world he made jewels, gold and silver his adornment; from iron, zinc, copper, lead and tin he fashioned his utensils and vessels; from the vegetable kingdom he made his food, raiment and bedding; and from the animal world he obtained for himself steeds and beasts of burden. And from all three kingdoms he chose out medicaments wherewith to heal himself. Whereby did there accrue to him such pre-eminence? By this, that he understood abstract ideas, and, by means of these, recognized God? And whereby did he know God? By knowing himself; for "*He who knoweth himself, knoweth his Lord.*"

So this kingdom [of man] became divided into three classes. The first is that which is proximate to the Animal Kingdom, such as the wild men of the waste and the mountain, whose aspiration doth not more than suffice to secure their own livelihood by seeking what is to their advantage and warding off what is to their detriment. The second class compriseth the inhabitants of towns and cities, who possess civilisation, power of co-operation, (۱۰) and aptitude to discover crafts and arts; but whose scientific attainments are limited to the organisation of such association as subsists between them, in order that the different classes<sup>1</sup> may continue to exist. The third class compriseth such as are independent of these things, and whose occupation, by night and by day, in secret and in public, is to reflect, "Who are we, for what reason did we come into existence, and Who hath brought us into being?" In other words, they hold debate concerning the real essences of things, reflect on their coming, and anxiously consider their departure, saying, "How have we come? Whither shall we go?"

This class, again, is subdivided into two sorts; first, those who reach the essence of this object by the help of masters and by laborious toil, voracious study, reading and writing; and such are called "Philosophers." But there is yet another sort who, without master or book, reach the extreme limit of this problem, and these are called "Prophets."

Now the peculiar virtues of the Prophet are three:—first, that, without instruction, he knows all knowledges<sup>2</sup>; secondly, that he gives information concerning yesterday and to-morrow otherwise than by analogical reasoning; and thirdly, that he hath such psychical power that from whatever body he will he taketh the form and produceth another form, which thing none can do save such as are conformed to the Angelic World. Therefore in the Human World none is above him, and his command

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps "races." The word is انواع, plural of نوع, "species."

<sup>2</sup> This is what is called *'Ilm-i-Ladunni*, or knowledge directly derived from God.

is effective for the well-being of the world; for whatever others have, he has, while possessing also an additional qualification which they have not, that is to say communication with the Angelic World. This additional qualification is in brief termed the "Prophetic Function," and is in detail such as we have explained.

Now so long as such a man lives, he points out to his people what things conduce to well-being in both worlds, by the Command of God, glorious is His Name, communicated to him by means of the Angels. But when, by natural dissolution, he turns his face towards the other world, he leaves behind him as his representative a God<sup>1</sup> derived from the indications of God Almighty and his own sayings<sup>2</sup>. And assuredly he requires, to maintain his Law and Practice, a vice-gerent who must needs be the most excellent of that community and the most perfect product of that age, in order that he may maintain this Law and give effect to this Code; and such an one is called an "Imám." But this Imám cannot reach the horizons of the East, the West, the North and the South in such wise that the effects of his care may extend alike to the most remote and the nearest, and his command and prohibition may reach at once the intelligent and the ignorant. Therefore must he needs have vicars to act for him in distant parts of the world, and not every one of these will have such power that all mankind shall be compelled to acknowledge it. Hence there must be an administrator and compeller, which administrator and compeller is called a "Monarch," that is to say, a king; and his vicarious function "Sovereignty." The king, therefore, is the lieutenant of the Imám, the Imám of the Prophet, and the Prophet of God (mighty and glorious is He!). Well has Firdawsí said on this subject:—(۱۱)

چنان دان كه شاهى و پيغمبرى ' دو گوهر بود در يك انگشترى '

"Then learn that the functions of Prophet and King  
Are set side by side like two stones in one ring."

The Lord of the sons of men<sup>3</sup> himself hath said, "*Church and State are twins*," since in form and essence neither differs from the other, either as regards increase or defect. So, by virtue of this decree, no burden, after the Prophetic Office, is weightier than Sovereignty, nor any function more laborious than that of governing. Hence a king needs round about him, as men on whose counsel, judgement and deliberations depend the loosing and binding of the world, and the well-being and ill-being of the servants of God Almighty, such as are in every respect the most excellent and most perfect of their time.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the Scripture and the Traditions, in the case of the Prophet Muhammad the *Qur'dn* and the *Hadith*.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the Prophet Muhammad.

Now of the servants essential to kings are the Secretary, the Poet, the Astrologer and the Physician, with whom he can in no wise dispense. For the maintenance of the administration is by the Secretary; the perpetuation of immortal renown by the Poet; the ordering of affairs by the Astrologer; and the health of the body by the Physician. These four arduous functions and noble arts are amongst the branches of the Science of Philosophy; the functions of the Scribe and the Poet being branches of the Science of Logic; that of the Astrologer, one of the principal subdivisions of Mathematics; while the Physician's Art is amongst the branches of Natural Science. This book, therefore, comprises *Four Discourses*, to wit:—

*First Discourse*, on the essence of the Secretarial Art, and the nature of the eloquent and perfect Secretary.

*Second Discourse*, on the essence of the Poetic Art, and the aptitude of the Poet.

*Third Discourse*, on the essence of the Science of Astrology, and the competence of the Astrologer in that Science.

*Fourth Discourse*, on the essence of the Science of Medicine, and the direction and disposition of the Physician.

Such philosophical considerations as are germane to this Book will therefore be advanced at the beginning of each Discourse; and thereafter ten pleasing anecdotes, of the choicest connected with that subject and the rarest appropriate to that topic, of what hath befallen persons of the class under discussion, will be adduced, in order that it may become plainly known to the King that the Secretarial Office is not a trivial matter; that the Poetic Calling is no mean occupation; that Astrology is a necessary Science; that Medicine is an indispensable Art; and that the wise King cannot do without these four persons, the Secretary, the Poet, the Astrologer, and the Physician.

#### (1) FIRST DISCOURSE.

*On the essence of the Secretarial Art, and the nature of the perfect Secretary and what is connected therewith.*

The Secretarial Function is an art comprising analogical methods of rhetoric and communication, and teaching the forms of address employed amongst men in correspondence, consultation, contention, eulogy, condemnation, diplomacy, conciliation and provocation, as well as in magnifying matters or minimising them; contriving means of excuse or censure; imposing covenants; recording precedents; and displaying in every case orderly arrangement of the subject matter, so that all may be enunciated in the best and most suitable manner.

Hence the Secretary must be of gentle birth, of refined honour, of penetrating discernment, of profound reflection, and of piercing judgement; and the amplest portion and fullest share of literary culture and its fruits must be his. Neither must he be remote from, or unacquainted with, logical analogies; and he must know the ranks of his contemporaries, and be familiar with the dignities of the leading men of his time. Moreover he should not be absorbed in the wealth and perishable goods of this world; nor concern himself with the approval or condemnation of persons prejudiced in his favour or against him, or be misled by them; and he should, when exercising his secretarial functions, guard the honour of his master from degrading situations and humiliating usages. And in the course of his letter and tenour of his correspondence he should not quarrel with honourable and powerful personages; and, even though enmity subsist between his master and the person whom he is addressing, he should restrain his pen, and not attack his honour, save in the case of one who may have overstepped his own proper limit, or advanced his foot beyond the circle of respect, for they say:—*"One for one, and he who begins is most in the wrong."*

Moreover in his forms of address he should observe moderation, writing to each person that which his family pedigree, kingdom, domain, army, and treasure indicate; save in the case of one who may himself have fallen short in this matter, or made display of undue pride, or neglected some point of courtesy, or manifested a familiarity which reason cannot regard otherwise than as misplaced in such correspondence, and unsuitable to epistolary communications. In such cases it is permitted and allowed to the Secretary to take up his pen, set his best foot forward, (۱۲) and in this pass go to the extreme limit and utmost bound, for the most perfect of mankind and the most excellent of them (upon him be the Blessings of God and His Peace) says:—*"Haughtiness towards the haughty is a good work."* But in no case must he suffer any dust from the atmosphere of recrimination in this arena of correspondence to alight on the skirt of his master's honour; and in the setting forth of his message he must adopt that method whereby the words shall subserve the ideas and the matter be briefly expressed; for the orators of the Arabs have said, *"The best speech is that which is brief and significant, [not long and wearisome]."* For if the ideas be subordinated to the

۱ واحدٌ بواحدة و البادئ الظلم i.e. "Til for tat, and the aggressor is most to blame."

التكبر مع المتكبر صدقة

۲ حَيَّرَ الْكَلَامَ مَا قَلَّ وَ دَلَّ وَ لَمْ يَطْلُ فِيمِثْلُ The printed text omits the last words.

words, the discussion will be protracted, and the writer will be stigmatised as prolix, and "*He whose prolix is a babbler*."

Now the words of the Secretary will not attain to this elevation until he acquires some knowledge of every science, obtains some hint from every master, hears some aphorism from every philosopher, and borrows some elegance from every man of letters. Therefore he must accustom himself to peruse the Scripture of the Lord of Glory, the Traditions of Muḥammad the Chosen One, the Memoirs of the Companions, the proverbial sayings of the Arabs, and the wise words of the Persians; and to read the books of the ancients, and to study the writings of their successors, such as the *Correspondence* of the Šāhib [Imā'ī, ibn 'Abbād]<sup>1</sup>, Šābī and Qābūs<sup>2</sup>; the compositions of Hamādī, Imāmī and Qudāma<sup>3</sup> ibn Ja'far; the *Gests* of Badī' u'z-Zamān al-Hamadānī<sup>4</sup>, al-Harīrī<sup>5</sup> and al-Hamīdī<sup>6</sup>; the *Rescripts* of al-Bal'amī<sup>7</sup>, Aḥmad-i-Hasan<sup>8</sup> and Abū Naṣr Kunderī<sup>9</sup>; the *Letters* of Muḥammad 'Abduh, 'Abdū'l-Hamīd, and the Sayyidu'r-Ru'asā; the *Stances* of Muḥammad-i-Manṣūr<sup>10</sup>, Ibn 'Abbādī<sup>11</sup> and Ibnu'n-Nassāba the descendant of 'Alī; and, of the poetical works of the Arabs, the *Diwāns* of Mutanabbī<sup>12</sup>, Abīwardī<sup>13</sup> and Ghazzī<sup>14</sup>; and, amongst the Persian poets, the poems of Rūdāgī<sup>15</sup>, the Epic of Firdawsī<sup>16</sup>, and the panegyrics of 'Unṣurī<sup>17</sup>; since each one of these works which I have enumerated was, after its kind, the incomparable and unique product of its time; and every writer who hath these books, and doth not fail to read them, stimulates his mind,

### المكتار منذار

<sup>1</sup> See the *Yatīnāt u'd-Dahr* (ed. Damascus), vol. iii, pp. 31-112; de Slane's *Ibn 'Abbādī*, vol. i, pp. 212-217, and Note III at the end. L. omits Šābī.

<sup>2</sup> The *Tawarīḫ*, or *Correspondence*, of Qābūs ibn Washmīr, the Ziyārid Prince of Tabaristān, who was killed in 403/1012-13. See p. 95 of the Persian notes.

<sup>3</sup> See von Kremer's *Culturgesch.*, i, pp. 269-270.

<sup>4</sup> See von Kremer's *Culturgesch.*, ii, pp. 470-476; Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, i, pp. 93-94 and 276-278.

<sup>5</sup> See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, vol. ii, pp. 747-748, where a very fine old MS. of the *Magāzī* of al-Hamīdī is described, written in the 13th cent. of our era.

<sup>6</sup> Abū 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bal'amī (d. 386/996).

<sup>7</sup> The Ghaznawī minister, Aḥmad ibn Jasan of Maymand (d. 424/1033).

<sup>8</sup> See de Slane's *Ibn 'Abbādī*, vol. iii, pp. 290-295.

<sup>9</sup> Probably Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥaddād. See *H. Kā.*, No. 1729.

<sup>10</sup> Abū 'Asīm Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-'Abbādī (see Rieu's *Arabie Suppl.*, p. 755), who died in 458/1066, is probably intended.

<sup>11</sup> See von Kremer's *Culturgesch.*, ii, pp. 380-381; Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, i, pp. 86-89.

<sup>12</sup> See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, i, p. 253; and the *Yatīnāt*, vol. iv, pp. 23 and 62-64, where mention is made of this well-known Abīwardī (whose *Diwān* has been printed at Beyrouṭ) and another.

<sup>13</sup> Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, i, p. 253. A., however, reads غزى.

<sup>14</sup> See Ethé's monograph and also his article *s.v.* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

<sup>15</sup> See especially Nöldeke's *Das Iranische Nationalepos* in vol. ii (pp. 230-241) of Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*.

<sup>16</sup> See Ethé in the same *Grundriss*, pp. 224-225.

polishes his wit, enkindles his fancy, and ever raises the level of his diction, whereby a Secretary becomes famous.

Now if he be well acquainted with the *Qur'an*, with one verse therefrom he may discharge his obligation to a whole realm, as did Iskáfí<sup>1</sup>.

#### ANECDOTE II.

Iskáfí<sup>1</sup> was one of the secretaries of the House of Sámán (may God have mercy on him), and knew his craft right well, so that he could cunningly traverse the heights, and emerge triumphant from the most difficult passes. He discharged the duties of secretary in the Chancellery of Nūh ibn Mansūr<sup>2</sup>, but they did not properly recognize his worth, or bestow on him favours commensurate with his pre-eminence (11). He therefore fled from Bukhárá to Alptagín at Herát. Alptagín, a Turk, wise and discerning, made much of him, and confided to him the Chancellery, and his affairs prospered. Now because there had sprung up at the court a new nobility who made light of the old nobles, Alptagín, though he patiently bore their presumption [for a while], was finally forced into rebellion, by reason of some slight put upon him at the instigation of a party of these new nobles. Then Amír Nūh wrote from Bukhárá to Zábulistán that Subuktigín should come with that army, and the sons of Símjūr<sup>3</sup> from Nishápúr, and should oppose and make war on Alptagín. And this war is very celebrated, and this momentous battle most famous.

So when these armies reached Herát, the Amír Nūh sent 'Alī ibn Muhtáj<sup>4</sup> al-Kashání, who was the Chief Chamberlain (*Hájibul-Báb*), to Alptagín with a letter [fluent] like water and [scathing] like fire, all filled with threats and fraught with menaces which left no room for peace and no way for conciliation, such as an angry master might write from a distance to his disobedient servants on such an occasion and in such a crisis, the whole letter filled with such expressions as "I will come," "I will take," "I will slay." When the Chamberlain Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī ibn Muhtáj al-Kashání submitted this letter and delivered this message, withholding nothing, Alptagín, who was already vexed,

<sup>1</sup> Abu'l-Qásim 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Iskáfí. See *Yatima*, vol. iv, pp. 29-33, and iii, 4.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be an error (though it stands thus in all three copies) for Mansūr ibn Nūh (Mansūr I), who reigned A.H. 350-366; for Nūh ibn Mansūr (Nūh II) reigned A.H. 366-387, and Alptagín died in A.H. 353 or 354. Concerning the *Dinawārī*, *Ras'id* see von Kremer's *Culturgesch.*, I, pp. 174, 200; and A. de B. Kazimirski's *Menouchekhi*, pp. 36 and 43. According to Ibnul-Athir (Husayn ed., of A.H. 1303, vol. viii, p. 179), Alptagín's revolt took place in A.H. 351, when Iskáfí was already dead. See p. 117 of the Persian notes and Note IV at end of this volume.

<sup>3</sup> See Defrémery's *Hist. des Samanides*, p. 260-261.

<sup>4</sup> Concerning this general, see Defrémery's *Hist. des Samanides*, pp. 247-248.

grew more vexed, and broke out in anger, saying, "I was his father's servant, but when my master passed from this transitory to that eternal abode, he entrusted him to me, not me to him. Although, to outward seeming, I should obey him, when you closely examine this matter a contrary conclusion results, seeing that I am in the last stages of old age, and he in the first stages of youth. Those who have impelled him to act thus are destroyers of this Dynasty, not counsellors, and are overthrowers of this House, not supporters."

Then in extreme ill-temper he instructed Iskáfí saying, "When thou answerest this letter omit no detail of disrespect; and I desire that thou shouldst write the answer on the back of the letter." So Iskáfí answered it on the spur of the moment, and first wrote as follows:

*"In the Name of God the Merciful the Clement, O Núh, thou hast contended with us and made great the contention with us. Produce, then, that wherewith thou threatenest us, if thou art of those who speak truly."*

When this letter reached Núh ibn Mañsúr the Amír of Khurásán, he read it, and was astonished; and all the gentlemen of the Court were filled with amaze, and the scribes bit their fingers [in wonder]. And when the affair of Alptagín was disposed of, Iskáfí fled away privily, for he was fearful and terrified; until suddenly Núh sent a messenger to summon him to his presence, and conferred on him the post of Secretary (۱۰). So his affairs prospered, and he became honoured and famous amongst the votaries of the Pen. Had he not known the *Qur'dn* well, he would not have hit upon this verse on that occasion, nor would his position have risen from that degree to this limit.

### ANECDOTE III.

When Iskáfí's affairs waxed thus prosperous, and he became established in the service of the Amír Núh ibn Mañsúr, Mákán son of Kákúy<sup>1</sup> rebelled at Ray and in Kúhistán, withdrew his neck from the yoke of obedience, sent his agents to Khwár and Simnak, captured several of the towns of Kúmish<sup>2</sup>, and paid no heed to the Sámánids. Núh ibn Mañsúr was afraid, because this was a formidable and able man, and set himself to deal with this matter. He therefore ordered Tásh, the Commander-in-chief, to

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'dn*, xi, 34.

<sup>2</sup> The chronological difficulties involved in these two stories are considerable, for the rebellion of Mákán ibn Kákúy occurred in 319/940-1, towards the end of the reign of Naṣr II ibn Ahmad, *i.e.* long before the rebellion of Alptagín (see n. 2 on p. 15 *supra*). See Desfrémery's *Samanides*, pp. 248 and 263-264. See Notes IV and V at the end.

<sup>3</sup> Better known as *Qásir*, the arabicised form of the name. See B. de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr., Histor., et Litt. de la Perse*, pp. 484-485. For the three other towns mentioned, see the same work, pp. 212, 317 and 318.

march against him with seven thousand horsemen, suppress this rebellion, and put an end to this formidable insurrection in whatever way he deemed most expedient.

Now Tásh was mighty, sagacious and clear in judgement, rashly involving himself in and skilfully extricating himself from the straitest passes; ever victorious in warfare, and never turning back disappointed from any enterprize, nor defeated from any campaign. While he lived, the dominion of the House of Sámán enjoyed the greatest brilliancy, and their affairs the utmost prosperity.

On this occasion, then, the Amír, being mightily preoccupied and distressed in mind, sent a messenger to summon Iskáfí, and held a private interview with him. "I am greatly troubled," said he, "by this business; for Mákán is a brave man, endowed with courage and manhood, and hath both ability and generosity, so that there have been few like him amongst the Daylamís. You must co-operate with Tásh, and whatever is lacking to him in military strength at this crisis, you must make good by your counsels. And I will establish myself at Nishápúr, so that the army may be supported from the base, and the foeman discouraged. Every day a swift messenger with a concise despatch<sup>1</sup> from you must come to me and in this you must set forth the pith of what may have happened, so that my anxieties may be assuaged." Iskáfí bowed and said, "I will obey."

So next day Tásh unfurled his standard, sounded his drums, and set out for the front from Bukhárá, crossing the Oxus with seven thousand horsemen; while the Amír followed him with the remainder of the army to Nishápúr. There he invested Tásh and the army with robes of honour; and Tásh marched out and entered Bayhaq, and went forth into Kúinish setting his face (١) towards Ray with fixed purpose and firm resolve.

Meanwhile Mákán, with ten thousand mailed warriors, was encamped at the gates of Ray, which he had made his base. Tásh arrived, passed by the city, and encamped over against him. Then messengers began to pass to and fro between them, but no settlement was effected, for Mákán was puffed up with pride on account of that high-hearted army which he had gathered together from every quarter. It was therefore decided that they should join battle.

Now Tásh was an old wolf who for forty years had held the position of Commander-in-chief, and had witnessed many such engagements; and he so arranged it that when the two armies confronted one another, and the doughty warriors and champions

<sup>1</sup> Mirzá Muḥammad (p. ١٠١ of the Persian notes) has investigated the precise meaning of the word *mulaffafa*, here translated "concise despatch," and shews by quotations that it is used for a minutely and concisely written note capable of being easily concealed and secretly carried.



of the army of Transoxiana and Khurásán moved forward from the centre, only half of Mákán's army was engaged, while the rest were not fighting. Mákán was slain, and Tash, when he had ceased from taking and bidding and slaying, turned to Iskáfí and said, "A carrier-pigeon must be sent in advance, to be followed later by a courier; but all the main features of the battle must be summed up in one sentence, which shall indicate all the circumstances, yet shall not exceed what a pigeon can carry, and shall adequately express our meaning."

Then Iskáfí took so much paper as two fingers would cover and wrote:—"As for Mákán, he hath become as his name!" [*Má kdn* = "He hath not been" in Arabic]. By this "*shid*" he intended the negative, and by "*kdn*" the preterite of the verb, so that the Persian of it would be, "Mákán hath become like his name," that is to say, hath become nothing.

When the carrier-pigeon reached the Amír Núh, he was not more delighted at this victory than at this despatch, and he ordered Iskáfí's salary to be increased, saying, "Such a person must maintain a heart free from care in order to attain to such delicacies of expression."

#### ANECDOTE IV.

One who pursues any craft which depends on reflection ought to be free from care and anxiety, for if it be otherwise the arrows of his thought will fly wide and will not be concentrated on the target of achievement, since only by a tranquil mind can one arrive at such diction.

It is related that a certain secretary of the 'Abbásid Caliphs was writing a letter to the governor of Egypt; and, his mind being tranquil and himself submerged in the ocean of reflection, was forming sentences precious as pearls of great price and fluent as running water. Suddenly his maid-servant entered, saying, "There is no flour left." The scribe was so put out and disturbed in mind (۱۷) that he lost the thread of his theme, and was so affected that he wrote in the letter "There is no flour left." When he had finished it, he sent it to the Caliph, having no knowledge of these words which he had written.

When the letter reached the Caliph, and he read it, and arrived at this sentence, he was greatly astonished, being unable to account for so strange an occurrence. So he sent a messenger to summon the scribe, and enquired of him concerning this. The scribe was covered with shame, and gave the true explanation of the matter. The Caliph was mightily astonished and said, "The

أَمَّا مَا كَانَ فَصَارَ كَاتِبِهِ

\* The substance of this anecdote is given in the *Tārīkh-i-Ghazā*, and is cited by Deirémery at pp. 247-248 of his *Histoire des Samanides* (Paris, 1845).

beginning of this letter surpasses and excels the latter part by as much as the *sīra* 'Say, *He is God, the One*' excels the *sīra* 'The hands of *Abū Lahab* shall perish'; and it is a pity to surrender the minds of eloquent men like you into the hands of the struggle for the necessities of life." Then he ordered him to be given means sufficiently ample to prevent such an announcement as this ever entering his ears again. Naturally it then happened that he could compress into two sentences the ideas of two worlds.

#### ANECDOTE V.

The *Šāhib Ismā'il ibn 'Abbād*, entitled *al-Kāfi* ("the Competent") of Ray was minister to the *Shāhanshāh*. He was most perfect in his accomplishments, of which fact his correspondence and his poetry are two sufficient witnesses and unimpeachable arbiters.

Now the *Šāhib* was a *Mu'tazilite*, and such are wont to be extremely pious and scrupulous in their religious duties, holding it right that a true believer should abide eternally in hell by reason of a grain of unrighteousness; and his servants, retainers and agents for the most part held the same opinion that he did.

Now there was at Qum a judge appointed by the *Šāhib* in whose devoutness and piety he had a firm belief, though one after another men asserted the contrary. All this, however, left the *Šāhib* unconvinced, until two trustworthy persons of Qum, whose statements commanded credence, declared that in a certain suit between So-and-so and Such-an-one this judge had accepted a bribe of five hundred *dīnārs*. This was mightily displeasing to the *Šāhib* for two reasons, first on account of the greatness of the bribe, and secondly on account of the shameless unscrupulousness of the judge. He at once took up his pen and wrote:

"*In the Name of God the Merciful the Clement. O Judge of Qum! We dismiss you, (i.e.) so Come!*"

Scholars and rhetoricians will notice and appreciate the high merit of this sentence in respect to its concision and clearness, and naturally from that time forth rhetoricians and stylists have inscribed this epigram on their hearts, and impressed it on their minds.

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'an*, cxli.

<sup>2</sup> *Qur'an*, cxli.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of this great minister and generous patron of literature, see de Slane's translation of *Isbn Khallikān*, vol. i, pp. 212-217, and Note VI at end.

<sup>4</sup> This old Persian title "King of kings" was borne by several of the House of Buwayh. Here either *Mu'ayyid-d-Dawla* or his brother *Fakhr-d-Dawla* is intended.

<sup>5</sup> This, as *Mirā Muhammad* points out on p. 109 of the Persian notes, is the meaning of '*adli madhhab*'. The followers of this doctrine, called by their adversaries *al-Mu'tazila*, "the Seceders," called themselves "Partisans of the Divine Justice and Unity." See my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. i, p. 281.

<sup>6</sup> بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ أَيُّهَا الْقَاضِي بَقَرٌ قَدْ عَزَلْنَاكَ قَعْمٌ. I have endeavoured to preserve, feebly enough, the word-play in the original.

## ANECDOTE VI.

Lamghân<sup>1</sup> is a city in the district of Sind, one of the dependencies of Ghazna; and at this present time one lofty mountain separates its inhabitants from the heathen, so that they live in constant dread of the attacks and raids of the unbelievers. Yet the men of Lamghân are of good courage, hardy and thrifty, and combining with their hardness no small truculence, to such a degree that they think nothing of lodging a complaint against a tax-gatherer on account of a maund of chaff or a single egg; while for even less than this they are ready to come to Ghazna to complain of exactions, and to remain there one or two months, and not to return without having accomplished their object. In short they have a strong hand in obstinacy, and much back-bone in importunity.

Now in the reign of Sultan Mahmūd Yamīnū'd-Dawla (may God illuminate his proof!), the heathen one night attacked them, and damage of every sort befel them. But these were men who could roll in the dust<sup>2</sup> without spoil; and when this event happened several of their chiefs and men of note rose up and came to the court of Ghazna, and, with their garments rent, their heads uncovered, and uttering loud lamentations, entered the bazaar of Ghazna, went to the King's Palace wailing and grieving, and so described their misfortune that even a stone would have been moved to tears. As their truculence, impudence, dissimulation and cunning had not yet become apparent, that great minister, Ahmad-i-Hasan of Maymand<sup>3</sup>, took pity upon them, and forgave them that year's taxes, exempting them from all exactions, and bidding them return home, strive more strenuously, and spend less, so that by the beginning of next year they might recover their former position.

So the deputation of Lamghânīs returned with great contentment and huge satisfaction, and continued during that year in the easiest of circumstances, giving nothing to any one<sup>4</sup>. When the year came to an end, the same deputation returned to present another petition to the minister, simply setting forth that in the past year their lord the great minister had brightened their country by his grace and clemency and had preserved them by

<sup>1</sup> Or Lāmghān. See B. de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr. de la Perse*, p. 503; Pavet de Courteille's *Mém. de Baber*, ii, pp. 120-121.

<sup>2</sup> See the Editor's note on مراغه on p. 109 of the text. This expression appears to denote extreme cunning and resourcefulness, as though one should say "to wash without water." An attractive if bold emendation would be—هی باک مراوغه کردنددی—"shamelessly evaded their obligations."

<sup>3</sup> See n. 8 on p. 14 *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> This is Mirzā Muḥammad's explanation of the expression آب بکس ندادند

his care and protection, (۱) so that through that bounty and beneficence the people of Lamghán had reached their proper position and were able to dwell on that border; but that, since their prosperity was still somewhat shaken, they feared that, should he demand the contribution on their possessions that year, some of them would be utterly ruined, and that as a consequence of this, loss might accrue to the royal coffers.

The minister, Ahmad-i-Hasan, therefore, extending his favour, excused them the taxes of yet another year. During these two years the people of Lamghán grew rich, but this did not suffice them, for in the third year their greed reasserted itself, and, hoping again to be excused, the same deputation again appeared at Court and made a similar representation. Then it became apparent to all the world that the people of Lamghán were in the wrong. So the Prime Minister turned the petition over and wrote on the back of it:—*Al-ahardju khurá-jun, add'uhu dawd'uhu*—that is to say, "The tax is a running sore: its cure is its discharge." And from the time of this great statesman this saying has become proverbial, and has proved useful in many cases. May the earth rest lightly on this great man!

#### ANECDOTE VII.

There arose great statesmen under the 'Abbásid dynasty, and indeed the history of the Barmecides is well known and famous, and to what extent and degree were their gifts and rewards. Hasan [ibn] Sahl, called *Dhu'r-Riyásatayn*<sup>2</sup> ("the lord of two commands"), and his brother Faḍl were exalted above the very heavens, so much so that Ma'mún espoused Faḍl's daughter and asked her in marriage. Now she was a damsel peerless in beauty and unrivalled in attainments; and it was agreed that Ma'mún should go to the bride's house and remain there for a month, and after the lapse of this period should return home with his bride. On the day fixed for their departure he desired, as is customary, to array himself in better clothes. Now Ma'mún always wore black; and people supposed that he wore it because black was the distinctive colour of the 'Abbásids; till one day Yahyá ibn Aktham<sup>3</sup> enquired of him, "Why is it that the Prince of Believers prefers black garments?" Ma'mún replied to the judge, "Black garments are for men and for the living; for no woman is married in black, nor is any dead man (۴) buried in black." Yahyá was

<sup>1</sup> Literally "a wound of a thousand fountains," probably a carbuncle.

<sup>2</sup> There appears to be a confusion here between the two brothers. Hasan ibn Sahl was the father of Púrân, al-Ma'mún's bride, while Faḍl bore the title of *Dhu'r-Riyásatayn*. See de Slane's *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. i, pp. 268-272, and 408-409; vol. ii, pp. 472-476. Also the *Lafz'ifu'l-Ma'drif* of Ath-Tha'libi (ed. de Jong), pp. 73-74, where a full account is given of this marriage.

<sup>3</sup> See de Slane's *Ibn Khallikán*, iv, pp. 33-51.

greatly surprised by this answer. Then on this day Ma'mún desired to inspect the wardrobe; but of a thousand coats of satin, *ma'díni*, *malífi*, *taním*, hand-woven, cloth of gold, *mígráfi*, and fine black silk<sup>1</sup>, he approved none, but clad himself in his [customary] black, and mounted, and turned his face towards the bride's house. Now on that day Faḍl had decked out his palace in such wise that the nobles were filled with wonder thereat, for he had collected so many rare things that words would fail to describe or enumerate them. So when Ma'mún reached the gate of this palace he saw a curtain suspended, fairer than a Chinese temple<sup>2</sup> yet withal more precious than the standards of the true Faith, whereof the design charmed the heart and the colour mingled with the soul. He turned to his courtiers and said, "Whichever of those thousand coats I had chosen, I should have been shamed here. Praise be to God and thanks that I restricted myself to this black raiment."

Now of all the elaborate preparations made by Faḍl on that day, one was that he had a dish filled with [pieces of] wax in the form of pearls, each in circumference like a hazel-nut, and in each one a piece of paper on which was inscribed the name of a village. These he poured out at Ma'mún's feet, and whosoever of Ma'mún's attendants obtained one of these pieces of wax, to him he sent the title-deeds of that village.

So when Ma'mún entered the bride's house, he saw a mansion plastered and painted, with a dado of china tiles<sup>3</sup>, fairer than the East at the time of sunrise, and sweeter than a garden at the season of the rose; and therein spread out a full-sized mat of gold thread<sup>4</sup> embroidered with pearls, rubies and turquoises; and six cushions of like design placed thereon; and seated there, in the place of honour, a beauteous damsel sweeter than existence and life, and pleasanter than health and youth; in stature such that the cypress of Ghátáfar<sup>5</sup> would have subscribed itself her servant; with cheeks which the brightest sun would have acknowledged as suzerain; with hair which was the envy of musk and ambergris; and eyes which were the despair of the onyx and the narcissus. She, rising to her feet like a cypress, and walking gracefully, advanced towards Ma'mún, and, with a profound obeisance and earnest apologies, took his hand, brought him forward, seated him in the chief seat, and stood before him in service. Ma'mún bade her be seated, whereupon she seated

<sup>1</sup> The exact nature of most of these fabrics I have been unable to ascertain. See Note VII at the end.

<sup>2</sup> This, not "spring," seems to be the meaning of *ḥakár* in this passage.

<sup>3</sup> *ḥakár* or *ḥakra* appears to denote a kind of lower half-wall or dado against which one can lean while sitting.

<sup>4</sup> *Khánuḥ* seems to mean "large enough for [covering the floor of] a house," and *Shúkh-i-nar-kashfá* "span" or "thread-drawn gold."

<sup>5</sup> A quarter of Samarra mentioned in the first story in Book i of the *Mathnawí*.

herself on her knees<sup>1</sup> hanging her head, and looking down at the carpet. Thereupon Ma'mún was overcome with love: (r.) he had already lost his heart, and now he would have added thereunto his very soul. He stretched out his hand and drew forth from the opening of his coat eighteen pearls, each one as large as a sparrow's egg, brighter than the stars of heaven, more lustrous than the teeth of the fair, rounder, nay more luminous, than Saturn or Jupiter, and poured them out on the surface of the carpet, where, by reason of its smoothness and their roundness, they continued in motion, there being no cause for their quiescence. But the girl paid no heed to the pearls, nor so much as raised her head. Thereat was Ma'mún's passion further increased, and he extended his hand to open the door of amorous dalliance and to take her in his embraces. But the emotion of shame overwhelmed her, and the delicate damsel was so affected that she was overtaken by that state peculiar to women. Thereat the marks of shame and abashed modesty appeared in her cheeks and countenance, and she immediately exclaimed:—"O Prince of Believers! The command of God cometh, seek not then to hasten it!"<sup>2</sup>

Thereat Ma'mún withdrew his hand, and was near swooning on account of the extreme appositeness of this verse, and her graceful application of it on this occasion. Yet still he could not take his eyes off her, and for eighteen days he came not forth from this house and concerned himself with naught but her. And the affairs of Faḍl prospered, and he attained to that high position which was his.

#### ANECDOTE VIII.

Again in our own time one of the 'Abbásid Caliphs, al-Mustarshid bi'lláh<sup>3</sup>, the son of al-Mustazhir bi'lláh, the Prince of Believers (may God render his dust fragrant and exalt his rank in Paradise!), came forth from the city of Baghdád with a well-equipped army in full panoply, treasure beyond compute, and many muniments of war, marching against Khurásán, seeking to establish his supremacy over the King of the World Sanjar<sup>4</sup>.

Now this quarrel had been contrived by interested persons, and was due to the machinations and misrepresentations of wicked men, who had brought matters to this pass. When the Caliph reached Kirmánsháh, he there delivered on a Friday a homily which in eloquence transcended the highest zenith of the sun, and attained the height of the Heavenly Throne

<sup>1</sup> I.e. in the Persian fashion, on the heels, with the knees together in front.

<sup>2</sup> *Qur'án*, xvi, 1. Cf. de Slane's *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. i, p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> The 29th 'Abbásid Caliph, reigned A.H. 512-529 (A.D. 1118-1135).

<sup>4</sup> This happened in 529/1134-5. See Houtsma's *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire des Seldjoukides*, vol. ii (1889), pp. 174-175. Sanjar is, however, a mistake for Mas'ūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Maliksháh. See Note VIII at end.

and the Supreme Paradise. In the course of this harangue, in his great distress and extreme despair, he complained of the House of Saljûq, in such wise that the orators of Arabia and the rhetoricians of Persia are fain to confess that after the Companions of the Prophet (God's blessing rest on all of them), who were the disciples of the Point of the Prophetic Function (11) and the expounders of his pithy aphorisms, no one had composed a discourse so weighty and eloquent. Said al-Mustarshid:—"We entrusted our affairs to the House of Saljûq, but they rebelled against us:—and the time lengthened over them, and their hearts were hardened; and most of them are sinners,"<sup>1</sup> that is to say, withdrew their necks from our commands in [matters appertaining to] Religion and Islâm.

#### ANECDOTE IX.

The Gúr-Khán of Khitá fought a battle with the King of the World Sanjar, the son of Maliksháh, at the gates of Samarqand, wherein such disaster befel the army of Islâm as one cannot describe, and Transoxiana passed into his power<sup>2</sup>. After putting to death the Imám of the East Husámu'd-Dín<sup>3</sup> (may God make bright his example, and extend over him His Peace), the Gúr Khán bestowed Bukhárá on Atmatigín<sup>4</sup>, the son of the Amír Bayábán<sup>5</sup> and nephew of Atsiz Khwárazmsháh, and, when he retired, entrusted him to the Imám *Tájul-Islám* Ahmad ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, who was the Imám of Bukhárá and the son of Burhán<sup>6</sup>, so that whatever he did he might do by his advice, and that he should do nothing without his orders, nor take any step without his knowledge. Then the Gúr-Khán turned back and retired to Barskhán<sup>7</sup>.

Now his justice had no bounds, nor was there any limit to the effectiveness of his commands; and, indeed, in these two

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'an*, lviii, 15. The meaning of the Arabic is repeated in Persian in the text.

<sup>2</sup> See Mikhwand's *History of the Saljûqs*, ed. Vullers, pp. 176-180. Sir E. Denison Ross has pointed out to me that Gúr-Khán is a generic title. (See *History of the Moghuls of Central Asia* by Elias and Ross, pp. 187 *et seqq.*, and also Schefer's *Chrestomathie Persane*, vol. i, pp. 34 *et seqq.*) See also Mirzá Muḥammad's note on p. 117 of the text, and Note IX at the end.

<sup>3</sup> Husámu'd-Dín 'Umar ibn Burhánu'd-Dín 'Abdu'l-'Azíz ibn Máza. See Note XI at the end.

<sup>4</sup> The correct form of this name is uncertain, but *Atmatigín*, the reading of the lithographed edition and of Schefer, *op. cit.*, p. 15, is certainly wrong. See note on p. 117 of the text, and Note X at the end.

<sup>5</sup> This name also is uncertain, and there are almost as many variants as there are texts. See Note X at the end.

<sup>6</sup> *I.e.* Burhánu'd-Dín 'Abdu'l-'Azíz mentioned in the last footnote but two. See Note XI at the end.

<sup>7</sup> The name of a city in Eastern Turkistán near Khutan. See G. le Strange's *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 489, and Barthold in vol. i, part 4, p. 89, of the *Zapiski, ou Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St Pétersbourg, viii<sup>e</sup> Série. Classe hist.-philol.*, 1893-4.

things is comprised the essence of kingship. But when Atmatigín saw a clear field, he turned his hand to oppression, and began to levy contributions on Bukhárá. So several of the people of Bukhárá went as a deputation to Barskhán to seek redress. The Gúr-Khán, when he heard this, wrote a letter to Atmatigín [beginning] in the Muslim fashion:

*"In the Name of God the Merciful the Clement.* Let Atmatigín know that although far distance separates us, our approval and displeasure are near at hand. Let Atmatigín do that which [Tajil-Isldin] Ahmad commands, and Ahmad that which [the Prophet] Muhammad commands. Farewell."

Again and again we have considered this and reflected on it. A thousand volumes or even more might be written to enlarge on this letter, yet its purport is extremely plain and clear, needing no explanation. Seldom have (†) I seen anything like it.

#### ANECDOTE X.

The extreme eloquence of the Qur'án lies in its concision of words and inimitable presentation of ideas; and such citations as those above given which have occurred to orators and eloquent writers are of a kind to inspire awe, so that the wise and eloquent man is moved from his [former] mental attitude. And this is a clear proof and trenchant argument to establish the fact that this Word did not proceed from the mouth of any created being, nor originate from any [human] lips or tongue, but that the stamp of Eternity is impressed on its prescriptions and sentences.

It is related that one of the Muslims was reciting before Walid ibnu 'l-Mughíra this verse:—"*And it was said, 'O Earth, gulp down thy waters, and O Heaven, draw them up': and the water abated. Thus was the matter effected. And it [i.e. the Ark] rested upon Mount Júdt.*" "By God," said Walid ibnu 'l-Mughíra, "verily it hath beauty and sweetness; its highest part is fruitful, and its lowest part is luxuriant; nor is it the word of man!" When even enemies reached on the plane of equity such a level of enthusiasm concerning the eloquence of the Qur'án and its miraculous quality, see to what degree friends will attain.

#### ANECDOTE XI.

It was formerly customary with the kings of old time and the autocrats of past ages, such as the Píshdádí, Kayání and Sásánian monarchs and the Caliphá, to vaunt themselves and compete with one another both in justice and erudition, and with every ambassador whom they despatched they used to send wise sayings,

<sup>1</sup> Qur'an, xi, 46.



riddles, and enigmatical questions. So the king, under these circumstances, stood in need of persons of intelligence and discrimination, and men of judgement and statesmanship; and several councils would be held and adjourned, until they were unanimous as to their answers, and these problems and enigmas were plain and apparent, when they would despatch the ambassador.

This practice was maintained until the time of that just king Mahmūd Ibn Subuktigīn *Yamīnū'd-Dawla* (may God have mercy upon him). But when (11) the Saljūqs succeeded him, they being nomads, ignorant of the conduct of affairs and the high achievements of kings, most of these royal customs became obsolete in their time, and many essentials of dominion fell into disuse. One of these was the Ministry of Posts, from which one can judge of the remainder. It is related that one day Sultān Mahmūd *Yamīnū'd-Dawla* despatched an ambassador to Bughrā Khān in Transoxiana, and in the letter which had been drafted occurred this passage:—*"God Almighty saith, 'Verily the most honourable of you in God's sight is he who is most pious of you'."* Investigators and critics are agreed that here he [*i.e.* the Prophet] guards himself from ignorance; for the souls of men are subject to no more grievous defect than this of ignorance, nor is there aught lower than the blemish of folly. To the truth of this proposition and the soundness of this assertion [God's] uncreated word also bears witness:—*"[God will raise up those of you who believe] and those to whom hath been given knowledge to [superior] degrees."* Therefore we desire that the Imāms of the land of Transoxiana and the doctors of the East and scholars of the Khāqān's Court should impart [to us] this much information as to matters essential [to Salvation]. \*What is the Prophetic Office, what Saintship, what Religion, what Islām, what Faith, what Well-doing, what Godliness, what the Approbation of Right, what the Prohibition of Wrong, what the Path, what the Balance, what Mercy, what Pity, what Justice, and what Excellence?"

When this letter reached the Court of Bughrā Khān, and he had acquainted himself with its purport and contents, he summoned the Imāms of Transoxiana from the different towns and districts, and took counsel with them on this matter. Several of the greatest and most eminent of these Imāms agreed that they should severally compose a treatise on this subject, and in the course of their dissertation introduce into the text a reply to these interrogations. They craved a delay of four months for this purpose; which respite was fraught with all sorts of detriments, the worst of which were the disbursements from the treasury for the expenses of the ambassadors and king's messengers, and

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'an*, xlix, 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Qur'an*, lviii, 12.

the maintenance of the Imáms, until at length Muḥammad ibn 'Abduh' the scribe, who was Bughrá Khán's secretary, and was deeply versed in learning and highly distinguished in scholarship, besides being profoundly skilled in verse and prose, and one of the eloquent and distinguished stylists of the Muslims, said, "I will reply to these questions in two words, in such wise that when the scholars of Islám and the most conspicuous men of the East shall see my answer, it shall command their approval and admiration." So he took up his pen and wrote (••) under the questions, after the fashion of a legal decision (*fatwa*):—*"Saith God's Apostle (upon whom be the Blessings of God, and His Peace) 'Reverence for God's Command and loving-kindness towards God's people.'"* All the Imáms of Transoxiana bit their fingers [in amazement] and expressed their admiration, saying, "Here indeed is an answer which is perfect and an utterance which is comprehensive!" And the Kháqán was mightily pleased because the difficulty had been overcome by a scribe and there was no further need for the divines. And when the answer reached Ghazna, all applauded it.

It therefore results from these premises that an intelligent and accomplished secretary is the greatest ornament to a king's magnificence and the best means to his exaltation. And with this anecdote we conclude this Discourse, and so farewell.

#### (1) SECOND DISCOURSE.

*On the essence of the Poetic Art and the aptitude of the Poet.*

Poetry is that art whereby the poet arranges imaginary propositions and blends fruitful analogies, in such wise that he can make a little thing appear great and a great thing small, or cause good to appear in the garb of evil and evil in the form of good. By acting on the imagination, he excites the faculties of anger and concupiscence in such a way that by his suggestion men's temperaments become affected with depression or exaltation; whereby he conduces to the accomplishment of great things in the order of the world.

#### ANECDOTE XII.

Thus they relate that Aḥmad ibn 'Abdu'lláh al-Khujistání<sup>1</sup> was asked, "How didst thou, who wert originally an ass-herd,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 14 *supra*, Note III at the end, and p. 22 of the Persian notes.

<sup>2</sup> "Khujistán.—In the mountains near Herát. From this country issued Aḥmad ibn

become Amīr of Khurāsān?" He replied, "One day I was reading the Dīwān of Hanzala of Bādghīs<sup>1</sup>, in Bādghīs of Khujistān, when I chanced on these two couplets:—

مېټري گر بکامير شير درست<sup>2</sup> شو خطر کن ز کامير شير بجوى<sup>3</sup>  
يا بزوى و ناز و نعمت و جاه<sup>4</sup> يا چو مردانت مرگ روياړوى<sup>5</sup>

\* 'If lordship lies within the lion's jaws,  
Go risk it, and from those dread portals seize  
Such straight-confronting death as men desire,  
Or riches, greatness, rank and lasting ease.'

An impulse stirred within me such that I could in no wise remain content with that condition wherein I was. I therefore sold my asses, bought a horse, and, quitting my country, entered the service of 'Alī ibn Layth, the brother of Ya'qūb and 'Amr. (۲۷) At that time the falcon of fortune of the Saffārids<sup>6</sup> still hovered at the highest zenith of its prosperity. Of the three brothers, 'Alī was the youngest, and Ya'qūb and 'Amr had complete precedence over him. When Ya'qūb came from Khurāsān to Ghazna over the mountains, 'Alī ibn Layth sent me back from *Ribdt-i-Sangin*<sup>7</sup> ('the Stone Rest-house') to act as agent to his feudal estates in Khurāsān. I had a hundred horsemen of that army on the road, and had with me besides some twenty horsemen of my own. Now of the estates held in fief by 'Alī ibn Layth one was Karūkh<sup>8</sup> of Herāt, a second Khwāf<sup>9</sup> of Nishāpūr. When I reached Karūkh, I produced my warrant, and what was paid to me I divided amongst the army and gave to the soldiers. My horsemen now numbered three hundred. When I reached Khwāf<sup>10</sup>, and again produced my warrant, the burghers of Khwāf contested it, saying, 'We want a prefect with [a body-guard of only] ten men.' I therefore decided to renounce my allegiance to the Saffāris, looted Khwāf, proceeded to the village of Busht<sup>11</sup>,

\* 'Abdu'l-lāh al-Khujistāni, who revolted at Nishāpūr and died in ۳۶۴/877-8." (Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr., Hist., et Litt. de la Perse*, p. 197.) The editor points out (Persian notes, p. ۱۲۲, and Note XIII at the end) that, according to Ibnū'l-Athīr, Ahmad was assassinated in Shawwāl, ۳۶۸/88۳, after having reigned at Nishāpūr six six years. See the *Journal Asiatique* for 1845, pp. 345 et seqq. of the second half.

<sup>1</sup> See Rithé's *Rückzug's Vorläufer und Zeitgenossen*, pp. 38-40, where these verses and others by the same poet are cited.

<sup>2</sup> The short-lived Saffārid dynasty was founded by Ya'qūb ibn Layth in ۳۵4/867. On his death in ۳۶5/878 he was succeeded by his brother 'Amr, who was overthrown by Ima'li the Sāmānid in ۳۸7/۹۹۰ and was subsequently put to death.

<sup>3</sup> This place, evidently situated between Ghazna and Khurāsān, has not been identified, unless, as Muḥammad Iqbal suggests, it be identical with the *Ribdt-i-Sangin* twice mentioned by Dawlatshāh (pp. ۱۲۱ and ۱۰۱ of my edition).

<sup>4</sup> A town situated at ten parasangs from Herāt. See Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr., Hist., et Litt. de la Perse*, p. 487, and p. 33 *infra*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 213-214.

<sup>6</sup> Busht or Pusht is also in the district of Nishāpūr.

and came to Bayhaq<sup>1</sup>, where two thousand horsemen joined me. I advanced and took Nishápúr, and my affairs prospered and continued to improve until I had subdued all Khurásán to myself. Of all this, these two verses of poetry were the original cause."

Sallámí<sup>2</sup> relates in his history that the affairs of Ahmad ibn 'Abdu'lláh prospered so greatly that in one night in Nishápúr he distributed in largesse 300,000 *dinars*, 500 head of horses, and 1000 suits of clothes, and to-day he stands in history as one of the victorious monarchs, all of which was brought about by these two verses of poetry. Many similar instances are to be found amongst both the Arabs and the Persians, but we have restricted ourselves to the mention of this one. So a king cannot dispense with a good poet, who shall provide for the immortality of his name, and shall record his fame in *díwáns* and books. For when the king receives that command which none can escape<sup>3</sup>, no traces will remain of his army, his treasure, and his store; but his name will endure for ever by reason of the poet's verse, as Sharíf-i-Mujallidí of Gurgán says<sup>4</sup> :—

از آن چندان نعیب این جهانی \* که ماند از آل سامان و آل سامان  
ثنای رودکی ماندست و مدحش \* نوای باربد ماندست و دستان

"From all the treasures hoarded by the Houses  
Of Sásán and of Sámán, in our days  
Nothing survives except the song of Bárbad<sup>5</sup>,  
Nothing is left save Rúdákí's sweet lays."

The names of the monarchs of each age and the princes of all time are immortalized by the admirable verse and widely-diffused poetry of this company<sup>6</sup>; (۲۸) as, for example, the names of the House of Sámán through Master Abú 'Abdi'lláh Ja'far ibn Muhammad ar-Rúdaki, Abú'l-'Abbás ar-Ribanjaní, Abú'l-Mathal al-Bukhárf, Abú Isháq-i-Júybárf, Abú'l-Hasan Ághají, Taháwí,

<sup>1</sup> Bayhaq, also near Nishápúr, was according to Yáqút (who gives an unsatisfactory etymology) the ancient Khusráwírd and the later Sabzáwár.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. Abú 'Alí as-Sallámí al-Bayhaqí, who died in 300/912-3. See p. 120 of the Persian notes, and Note XIV at the end.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the summons of the Angel of Death.

<sup>4</sup> 'Awfí, who mentions this poet (*Lukáí*, i, pp. 13-14), calls him Abú Sharíf Ahmad ibn 'Alí.

<sup>5</sup> Concerning Bárbad, the celebrated minstrel of Khusráw Parwíz, see my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. I, pp. 14-18 and foot-notes. And Nöldeke's new edition of his *Persische Nationalpoet*, p. 43, n. 3 and *etc.*

<sup>6</sup> Of the poets included in this long list some account will be found in Note XIV at the end of this volume (derived in almost all cases from Mirzá Muhammad's notes to the Persian text) save in the case of a few who are too well known to need further mention (such as 'Unsuri, 'Asjadi, Farrakhi and Míndchihri) and a rather larger number concerning whom no information is obtainable from the sources at present available, such as Lá'í, Gulábi, 'Alí Sipihri, Sughdí, Pisar-i-Tísha, Kafí, Kása-i-Fáhi, Púr-i-Kalah, Abú'l-Qásim Rafí, Abú Bakr Jawhari and 'Alí Šidí. Concerning Ja'far of Hamadán, see vol. II of my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, p. 160.

Khabbāzī of Nishāpūr, and Abu'l-Hasan al-Kisā'ī; the names of the kings of the House of Nāsirū'd-Dīn<sup>1</sup> through such men as 'Unsurī, 'Asjadī, Farrukhī, Bahramī, Zīnatī, Buzurjmīhr of Qā'in, Muzaffarī, Manshūrī, Minūchihrī, Mas'ūdī, Qasārāmī, Abū Hanīfa-i-Iskāf, Rāshidī, Abū'l-Faraj of Rūna, Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, Muhammad ibn Nāsir, Shāh Abū Rijā, Ahmād-i-Khalaf, 'Uthmān Mukhtārī, and Majdūd as-Sanā'ī; the names of the House of Khāqān through Lū'lū'ī, Gulābī, Najībī of Farghāna, 'Am'aq of Bukhārā, Rashīdī of Samarqand, Najjār ("the Carpenter") of Sāgharī, 'Alī Bānīdhī, Pīsar-i-Darghūsh, 'Alī 'Sipihī, Jawharī, Sughdī, Pīsar-i-Tīsha, and 'Alī Shaṭranjī ("the Chess-player"); the names of the House of Buwayh by Master Maṭīqī, Kiyā Ghadā'irī, and Bundār; the names of the House of Saljūq by Farrukhī of Gurgān, Lāmī'ī of Dihistān, Ja'far of Hamadān, Dur-Fīrūz-i-Fakhrī, Burhānī, Amīr Mu'izzī, Abū'l-Ma'ālī of Ray, 'Amīd-i-Kamālī and Shihābī; the names of the kings of Tabaristān through Qamarī of Gurgān, Rāfī'ī of Nishāpūr, Kafā'ī of Ganja, Kūsa-i-Fālī, and Pūr-i-Kalah; and the names of the kings of Ghūr or House of Shansab (may God cause their kingdom to endure!) through Abū'l-Qāsim Raffī'ī, Abū Bakr Jawharī, this least of mankind Nizāmī-i-'Arūfī, and 'Alī Šūfl. The *diwāns* of these poets are eloquent as to the perfection, splendour, equipment, military strength, justice, bounty, nobility, excellence, judgement, statecraft, heaven-sent success and influence of these former kings and bygone rulers (may God illuminate their tombs and enlarge unto them their resting-places!). How many princes there were who enjoyed the favours of kings, and made great gifts which they bestowed on these eminent poets, of whom to-day no trace remains, nor of their hosts and retinues any survivor, though many were the painted palaces and charming gardens which they created and embellished, but which to-day are levelled with the ground and indistinguishable from the deserts and ravines! Says the author:—

بہ کاغا کہ محمود ہنہ کرد  
کہ از رفعت ہی ہا مہ مرا کرد  
(۲۹) نہ بینی رآن ہمہ یک خشت ہر پای  
مدیح عنصری ماندست ہر جای

*"How many a palace did great Mahmūd raise,  
At whose tall towers the Moon did stand at gaze,  
Whereof one brick remaineth not in place,  
Though still re-echo 'Unsurī's sweet lays."*

The Monarch of the World, Sultān 'Alā'u'd-dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥusayn, the Choice of the Prince of

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the House of Ghama.

Believers (may his life be long, and the umbrella of his dynasty victorious), marched on Ghazna to avenge those two kings, the Prince-martyr and the Laudable Monarch<sup>1</sup>, and Sultān Bahrāmshāh fled before him. In vengeance for those two royal victims, whom they had treated with such indignity, and of whom they had spoken so lightly, he sacked the city of Ghazna, and destroyed the buildings raised by Maḥmūd, Mas'ūd and Ibrāhīm, but he bought with gold the poems written in their praise, and placed them in his library. Alike in the army and in the city none dared call them king, yet the Conqueror himself would read from the *Shāhnāma* what Abū'l-Qāsim Firdawsī says:—

چو کوداك لب از شیر مادر بشت ز كهواره محمود گوید نخست  
بتن زنده پیل و بجان جبرئیل بگف ابر بهمن بدل رود نیل  
جهاندار محمود شاه بزرگ بابشخور آرد همی میش و گوك

*"Of the child in its cot, ere its lips yet are dry  
From the milk of its mother, 'Maḥmūd!' is the cry!  
A mammoth in strength and an angel in style,  
With a bounty like Spring and a heart like the Nile,  
Maḥmūd, the Great King, who such order doth keep  
That in peace from one pool drink the wolf and the sheep!"*

All wise men know that herein was no reverence for Maḥmūd, but only admiration of Firdawsī and his verse. Had Sultān Maḥmūd understood this, he would presumably not have left that noble man disappointed and despairing.

#### EXCURSUS. *On the quality of the Poet and his verse.*

Now the poet must be of tender temperament; profound in thought, sound in genius, a powerful thinker, subtle of insight. He must be well versed in many divers sciences, and eclectic amidst divergent customs; for as poetry is of advantage in every science, so is every science of advantage in poetry. And the poet must be of pleasing conversation in social gatherings, of cheerful countenance on festive occasions; and his verse must have attained to such a level as to be written on the page of Time (ع.) and celebrated on the tongues of the noble, and be such that they transcribe it in books and recite it in cities. For the richest portion and most excellent part of poetry is immortal fame, and until it be thus recorded and recited this idea will not be realized. And if poetry does not rise to this level, its influence is ineffectual, for it will die before its author. So, being impotent for the im-

<sup>1</sup> Qutb'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad and Sayf'u'd-Dīn Sūrī, both killed by Bahrāmshāh the Ghaznawī towards the middle of the sixth century of the Flight. From his devastation of Ghazna (550/1155-6) their brother 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Husayn the Ghūrī received the title of *fahd-nās* ("the World-consumer"). See Note XV at the end.

mortalizing of its own name, how can it confer immortality on the name of another?

But to this rank a poet cannot attain unless in the prime of his life and the season of his youth he commits to memory 20,000 couplets of the poetry of the Ancients, keeps in view [as models] 10,000 verses of the works of the Moderns, and continually reads and remembers the *diwans* of the masters of his art, observing how they have acquitted themselves in the strait passes and delicate places of song, in order that thus the different styles and varieties of verse may become ingrafted in his nature, and the defects and beauties of poetry may be inscribed on the tablet of his understanding. In this way his style will improve and his genius will develop. Then, when his genius has thus been firmly established in the power of poetical expression, and his verse has become even in quality, let him address himself seriously to the poetic art, study the science of Prosody, and familiarize himself with the works of Master Abu'l-Hasan Bahrāmī of Sarakhs, such as the "Goal of Prosodists" (*Ghāyatū'l-'Arāḍiyyīn*)<sup>1</sup> and the "Treasure of Rhyme" (*Kansū'l-Qaḍīya*). Then let him make a critical study of poetic ideas and phraseology, plagiarisms, biographies, and all the sciences of this class, with such a Master as knows these matters, so that he in turn may merit the title of Master, and his name may appear on the page of Time like the names of those other Masters whom we have mentioned, that he may thus be able to discharge his debt to his patron and lord for what he obtains from him by immortalizing his name.

Now it belongs to the King to patronize such a poet, so that he may enlist in his service and celebrate his praise. But if he fall below this level, no money should be wasted on him and no heed paid to his poetry, especially if he be old; for I have investigated this matter, and in the whole world have found nothing worse than an old poet, nor any money more ill spent than what is given to such. For one so ignoble as not to have discovered in fifty years that what he writes is bad, when will he discover it? But if he be young and has the right talent, even though his verse be not good, there is some hope that it may improve, (r) and according to the Code of Nobility it is proper to patronize him, a duty to take care of him, and an obligation to look after him.

Now in the service of kings naught is better than improvisation, for thereby the king's mood is cheered, his receptions are made brilliant, and the poet himself attains his object. Such favours as Rūdāfī obtained from the House of Sāmān by his improvisations and readiness in verse, none other hath experienced.

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps '*Arāḍiyyīn*', "the two Prosodies," viz. Arabic and Persian. See the Editor's note on p. 119.

## ANECDOTE XIII.

They relate thus, that Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, who was the most brilliant jewel of the Sāmānid galaxy, whereof the fortunes reached their zenith during the days of his rule, was most plentifully equipped with every means of enjoyment and material of splendour—well-filled treasuries, a far-flung army and loyal servants. In winter he used to reside at his capital, Bukhārā, while in summer he used to go to Samarqand or some other of the cities of Khurāsān. Now one year it was the turn of Herāt. He spent the spring season at Bādghīs, where are the most charming pasture-grounds of Khurāsān and 'Irāq, for there are nearly a thousand water-courses abounding in water and pasture, any one of which would suffice for an army.

When the beasts had well enjoyed their spring feed, and had regained their strength and condition, and were fit for warfare or to take the field, Naṣr ibn Aḥmad turned his face towards Herāt, but halted outside the city at Margh-i-Sapīd and there pitched his camp. It was the season of spring; cool breezes from the north were stirring, and the fruit was ripening in the districts of Mālin and Karūkh<sup>1</sup>—such fruit as can be obtained in but few places, and nowhere so cheaply. There the army rested. The climate was charming, the breeze cool, food plentiful, fruit abundant, and the air filled with fragrant scents, so that the soldiers enjoyed their life to the full during the spring and summer.

When Mihrgān<sup>2</sup> arrived, and the juice of the grape came into season, and the basil<sup>3</sup>, rocket<sup>4</sup> and fever-few<sup>5</sup> were in bloom, they did full justice to the delights of youth, and took tribute of their juvenile prime. Mihrgān was protracted, for the cold did not wax severe, and the grapes ripened with exceptional sweetness. For in the district of Herāt one hundred and twenty different varieties of the grape occur, each sweeter and more delicious than the other; and amongst them are in particular two kinds which are not to be found in any other region of the inhabited world, (rr) one called *Parniydn*<sup>6</sup> and the other *Kalanjari*<sup>7</sup>, thin-skinned,

<sup>1</sup> See Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, pp. 487, 511-512, according to which the former village is distant from Herāt two parasangs, the latter ten.

<sup>2</sup> The festival of the autumnal equinox, which fell in the old Persian month of Mihr.

<sup>3</sup> *Shākhīfarāns* (Arabic *Rayḥān*) = *Ocimum basilicum*. See Schlimmer's *Terminologie*, p. 404; Achundow, pp. 226, 381.

<sup>4</sup> *Hamdshin*, said to be equivalent to the Persian *Bastūn-afrās*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ughwēdn* (Persian *Bābān-i-Gaw-chākh*), *Matricaria* or *Pyrethrum*. See Schlimmer, p. 364.

<sup>6</sup> The Tihān lithograph has *Turniydn*, of which the usual meaning appears to be a sieve or basket made of osiers. See Horn's *Asadī*, p. 99, l. 1; Salemann's *Shams i Fakhri Lexicon*, p. 96, l. 13 and note *ad calc.*

<sup>7</sup> This word, in the form *Kalanjar*, is given in the *Burḥān-i-Qaf*. The description seems to be based on this passage.



small-stoned, and luscious, so that you would say they contained no earthly elements. A cluster of Kalanjari grapes sometimes attains a weight of five maunds, and each individual grape five dirhams' weight, they are black as pitch and sweet as sugar, and one can eat many by reason of the lusciousness that is in them. And besides these there were all sorts of other delicious fruits.

So the Amīr Naṣr ibn Aḥmad saw Mihrḡān and its fruits, and was mightily pleased therewith. Then the narcissus began to bloom, and the raisins were plucked and stoned<sup>1</sup> in Málín, and hung up on lines, and packed in store-rooms; and the Amīr with his army moved into the two groups of hamlets called Ghúra and Darwáz. There he saw mansions of which each one was like highest paradise, having before it a garden or pleasure ground with a northern aspect. There they wintered, while the Mandarin oranges began to arrive from Sístán and the sweet oranges from Mázandarán; and so they passed the winter in the most agreeable manner.

When [the second] spring came, the Amīr sent the horses to Bádghís and moved his camp to Málín [to a spot] between two streams. And when summer came and the fruits again ripened, Amīr Naṣr ibn Aḥmad said, "Where shall we go for the summer? For there is no pleasanter place of residence than this. Let us wait till Mihrḡān." And when Mihrḡān came, he said, "Let us enjoy Mihrḡān at Herát and then go"; and so from season to season he continued to procrastinate, until four years had passed in this way. For it was then the heyday of the Sámánian prosperity, and the land was flourishing, the kingdom unmenaced by foes, the army loyal, fortune favourable, and heaven auspicious; yet withal the Amīr's attendants grew weary, and desire for home arose within them, while they beheld the king quiescent, the air of Herát in his head and the love of Herát in his heart; and in the course of conversation he would compare, nay, prefer Herát to the Garden of Eden, and would exalt its charms above those of a Chinese temple<sup>2</sup>.

So they perceived that he intended to remain there for that summer also. Then the captains of the army and nobles of the kingdom went to Master Abú 'Abd'illáh Rúdagí<sup>3</sup>, than whom there was none more honoured of the king's intimates, and none whose words found so ready an acceptance. And they said to him, "We will present thee with five thousand *dīndrs* if thou wilt contrive some artifice whereby the king may be induced to depart

<sup>1</sup> For this meaning of *munappa* the editor refers to the article *Zahā* in the *Tuḥfat al-Mu'minīn* of Muḥammad Mú'min al-Ḥusaynī. For an account of this work, which was completed in A.D. 1669, see Fossin's *Zur Quellenkunde der Persischen Medizin*, pp. 89-91.

<sup>2</sup> Or "Chinese Spring." See n. 3 on p. 22 *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> See Etbe's excellent monograph and his article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; p. 61 of the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1899; and Note XIV at the end, second paragraph.

hence, for our hearts are craving for our wives and children, and our souls (۴۴) are like to leave us for longing after Bukhárá." Rúdagí agreed; and, since he had felt the Amír's pulse and understood his temperament, he perceived that prose would not affect him, and so had recourse to verse. He therefore composed a *qasída*; and, when the Amír had taken his morning cup, came in and sat down in his place; and, when the musicians ceased, he took up the harp, and, playing the "Lover's air," began this elegy<sup>1</sup> :—

بوی جوی مویان آید همی ' بوی یار مهربان آید همی

"The *Ju-yi-Mawlián*<sup>2</sup> we call to mind,  
We long for those dear friends long left behind."

Then he strikes a lower key, and sings :—

ریگ آموی و درشتی راه او ' زیر پایم پرنیان آید همی  
آب جیحون از نشاط روی دوست ' خنک مارا ۵ میان آید همی  
ای بخارا شاه و دیر زی ' میرزی تو شادمان آید همی  
میر ماهست و بخارا آسمان ' ماه سوی آسمان آید همی  
میر سُرُوست و بخارا بوستان ' سُرُو سوی بوستان آید همی

"The sands of Oxus, toilsome though they be,  
Beneath my feet were soft as silk to me.  
Glad at the friends' return, the Oxus deep  
Up to our girls in laughing waves shall leap.  
Long live Bukhárá! Be thou of good cheer!  
Joyous towards thee hasteth our Amír!  
The Moon's the Prince, Bukhárá is the sky;  
O Sky, the Moon shall light thee by and by!  
Bukhárá is the mead, the Cypress he;  
Receive at last, O Mead, thy Cypress-tree!"

When Rúdagí reached this verse, the Amír was so much affected that he descended from his throne, all unbooted bestrode the horse which was on sentry-duty<sup>3</sup>, and set off for Bukhárá so precipitately that they carried his leggings and riding-boots

<sup>1</sup> This poem is very well known, being cited in almost all notices of Rúdagí's life (e.g. by Dawlatsháh), in Forbes' *Persian Grammar*, pp. 10, 161-163, and in Blochmann's *Prose of the Persians*, pp. 2-3. See Note XVI at the end.

<sup>2</sup> The original name of this stream and the farms on its banks was, according to Narshakhí's *History of Bukhárá*, *Ju-yi-Mawlián*, "the Clients' Stream." See Note XVI at the end of this volume.

<sup>3</sup> *Khing-i-narshakhí*. To provide against any sudden emergency a horse, ready saddled and bridled, was kept always at the gate of the king's palace, and it is this "sentry-horse" to which reference is here made. See my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. i, p. 317, and n. 1 ad calc.

after him for two parasangs, as far as Burúna<sup>1</sup>, and only then did he put them on; nor did he draw rein anywhere till he reached Bukhárá, and Rúdagí received from the army the double of that five thousand *dinārs*.

At Samarcand, in the year A.H. 504 (= A.D. 1110-1111), I heard from the Bihqán Abú Rijá Ahmád ibn 'Abdu's-Samad al-'Ábidí as follows: "My grandfather Abú Rijá related that on this occasion when Rúdagí reached Samarcand, he had four hundred camels laden with his baggage." And indeed that illustrious man ~~was~~ worthy of this splendid equipment, for no one has yet produced a successful imitation of that elegy, nor found means to surmount triumphantly the difficulties [which the subject presents]. Thus the Poet-laureate Mu'izzí was one of the sweetest singers and most graceful wits in Persia, for his poetry reaches the highest level in beauty and freshness, and excels in fluency and charm." Zaynu'l-Mulk Abú Sa'd [ibn] Hindú ibn Muḥammad ibn Hindú of Isfahán<sup>2</sup> requested him to compose an imitation of this *qaṣída*. Mu'izzí declared his inability to do so, but, being pressed, produced a few verses of which this is one:—

(۲۱) رستم از مازندران آید همی، زین ملک از اصطهان آید همی

(۲۱) "Now advanceth Rostam from Mázandarán,  
Now advanceth Zayn-i-Mulk from Isfahán."

All wise men will perceive how great is the difference between this poetry and that; for who can sing with such sweetness as does Rúdagí when he says:—

آفرین و مدح شود آید همی، گو بگنج اندر زبان آید همی

"Surely are renown and praise a lasting gain,  
Even though the royal coffers loss sustain!"

For in this couplet are seven admirable touches of art; first, the verse is apposite; secondly, antithetical; thirdly, it has a refrain; fourthly, it embodies an enunciation of equivalence; fifthly, it has sweetness; sixthly, style; seventhly, energy<sup>3</sup>. Every master of the craft who has deeply considered the poetic art will admit, after a little reflection, that I am right.

<sup>1</sup> L. has *برونه*, and in a marginal note explains *Burúna* as meaning turban or handkerchief; but A. has *به برونه*, and I suspect that it is really a place-name. Cf. Sachau's remarks on the derivation of al-Biruni's name at p. 7 of his translation of the *Chronology of Ancient Nations*.

<sup>2</sup> See Houtsma's ed. of al-Bundārī's *History of the Saljuqs*, pp. 93, 101, 105; and Ibnū'l-Athīr under the year 506/1112-13, in which Zaynu'l-Mulk was put to death by his master Sultán Muḥammad ibn Maliksháh the Saljuq.

<sup>3</sup> Mirzá Muḥammad points out in his note on this passage (p. ۱۷۱) that the first three artifices are denoted by adjectives and the last four by substantives, and that the first and second (*munāḍiy* and *munāḍiyat*) are identical. Finally he justly observes that "style" or "elegance" (*fayḍat*) is not a rhetorical artifice but an indispensable attribute of all good writing, whether prose or verse.

## ANECDOTE XIV.

The love borne by Sultân *Yamînu'd-Dawla* Mahmûd to Ayáz the Turk is well-known and famous. It is related that Ayáz was not remarkably handsome, but was of sweet expression and olive complexion, symmetrically formed, graceful in his movements, sensible and deliberate in action, and mightily endowed with all the arts of pleasing, in which respect, indeed, he had few rivals in his time. Now all these are qualities which excite love and give permanence to friendship.

Now Sultân *Yamînu'd-Dawla* Mahmûd was a pious and God-fearing man, and he wrestled much with his love for Ayáz so that he should not diverge by so much as a single step from the Path of the Law and the Way of Honour. One night, however, at a carousal, when the wine had begun to affect him and love to stir within him, he looked at the curls of Ayáz, and saw, as it were, ambergris rolling over the face of the moon, hyacinths twisted about the visage of the sun, ringlet upon ringlet like a coat of mail; link upon link like a chain; in every ringlet a thousand hearts and under every lock a hundred thousand souls. Thereupon love plucked the reins of self-restraint from the hands of his endurance, and lover-like he drew him to himself. But the watchman of "*Hath not God forbidden you to transgress against Him?*" thrust forth his head from the collar of the Law, stood before Sultân [Mahmûd] *Yamînu'd-Dawla*, and said, "O Mahmûd, mingle not sin with love, nor mix the false with the true, for such a slip will raise the Realm of Love in revolt against thee, and like (•) thy first father thou wilt fall from Love's Paradise, and remain afflicted in the world of Sin." The ear of his fortunate nature being quick to hear, he hearkened to this announcement, and the tongue of his faith cried from his innermost soul, "*We believe and we affirm.*" But he feared lest the army of his self-control might be unable to withstand the hosts of Ayáz's locks, so, drawing a knife, he placed it in the hands of Ayáz, bidding him take it and cut off his curls. Ayáz took the knife from his hands with an obeisance, and, having enquired where he should sunder them, was bidden to cut them in the middle. He therefore doubled back his locks to get the measurement, executed the king's command, and laid the two tresses before Mahmûd. It is said that this ready obedience became a fresh cause of love; and Mahmûd called for gold and jewels and gave to Ayáz beyond his usual wont and custom, after which he fell into a drunken sleep.

<sup>1</sup> Here and in the next sentence I have preferred the alternative reading of the MSS. to the printed text, which has "*We believe and we affirm*" in this place, and omits these and the preceding eleven words below.

When the morning breeze blew upon him, and he arose from sleep to ascend the Royal Throne, he remembered what he had done. He summoned Ayáz and saw the clipped tresses. The army of remorse invaded his heart; and the peevish headache born of wine vanquished his brain. He kept rising up and sitting down [aimlessly], and none of the courtiers or men of rank dared to address to him any enquiry as to the cause, until at length Hájib 'Alí [ibn] Qaríb, who was his Chief Chamberlain, turned to 'Unşurî and said, "Go in before the King and shew thyself to him, and seek ~~some~~ way whereby he may be restored to good temper." So 'Unşurî fulfilled the Chamberlain's command, came in and did obeisance. Sultán Yamsínu'z-Dawla raised his head and said, "O 'Unşurî, I was just thinking of you. You see what has happened: say something appropriate for us on this subject." 'Unşurî did obeisance and extemporized as follows:—

کی عیبِ سر زلفِ بت از کاستن است  
 چه جای بگر نشستن و خاستن است  
 جای طرب و نشاط و می خواستن است  
 کآراستنِ سرو ز پیراستن است

*"Why deem it shame a fair one's curls to shear,  
 Why rise in wrath or sit in sorrow here?  
 Rather rejoice, make merry, call for wine;  
 When clipped the Cypress doth most trim appear."*

Maḥmúd was highly pleased with this quatrain, and bade them bring precious stores wherewith he twice filled the poet's mouth. Then he summoned the minstrels before him, and all that day until nightfall drank wine to [the accompaniment of] those two verses, whereby his melancholy was dissipated and he became mighty good-tempered.

Now you must know that improvisation is the chief pillar of the Poetic Art; and it is incumbent on the poet to train his talents to such a point as (۱) to be able to improvise on any subject, for thus can money be extracted from the treasury, and thus can the statement of any matter be adapted to the king's mood. All this is necessary to please the heart of one's master and the humour of one's patron; and whatever poets have earned in the way of great rewards has been earned by improvisations adapted to the occasion.

## ANECDOTE XV.

Farrukhī was a native of Sīstān, and was the son of Júlūgh, the slave of Amīr Khalaf-i-Bānū. He possessed excellent talents, composed pleasing verses, and was a dexterous performer on the harp; and he was retained in the service of one of the *dihqāns* of Sīstān, who gave him a yearly allowance of two hundred measures of corn, each containing five mauads, and a hundred *dirhams* in silver coinage of Nūh, which amply sufficed for his needs. But he sought in marriage a woman of Khalaf's clientage, whereby his expenses were increased and multiplied in all directions, so that Farrukhī remained without sufficient provision, nor was there in Sīstān anyone else save his nobles. He therefore appealed to the *dihqān* saying, "My expenses have been increased; how would it be if the *dihqān*, having regard to his generosity, should make my allowance of corn three hundred measures, and make my salary one hundred and fifty *dirhams*, so that my means may perhaps be equal to my expenditure?" The *dihqān* wrote on the back of the appeal, "So much shall not be refused you, but there is no possibility of any further increase."

Farrukhī, on hearing this, was in despair, and made enquiries of such as arrived and passed by to hear of some patron in some region or part of the world who might look upon him with favour, so that he might chance on a success; until at length they informed him that the Amīr Abū'l-Muzaffar-i-Chaghāniyān in Chaghāniyān was a munificent patron of this class, conferring on them splendid presents and rewards, and was at that period unrivalled in this respect amongst the kings of the age and nobles of the time. So Farrukhī set out thither, having composed the *qaṣīda* beginning:—

با کاروانِ جَلهِ برفتَم زِ سِستانِ    با حَکَمِ تنیده زِ دلِ بافته زِ جانِ

"With caravan for Hilla bound from Sīstān did I start,  
With fabrics spun within my brain and woven by my heart."

In truth it is a fine rhapsody in which he has admirably described the Poetic Art, while as a panegyric it is incomparable.

So Farrukhī, having furnished himself with what was necessary for the journey, set out for Chaghāniyān. And when he

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the Amīr Abū Ahmad Khalaf ibn Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn Layth as-Saffārī, King of Sīstān, whose mother, called *Bānū* ("the Lady"), was the daughter of 'Amr ibn Layth. He died in captivity in 399/1008-9.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Farhang-i-Afjuman-dr-d-yi-Nāṣirī*, i.v. ذِہ و زِہیل, where ذِہ و زِہیل is said to mean دِہ و زِہیل.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Khalaf's.

<sup>4</sup> Or, in its Arabicized form, *Saghāniyān*, a place in Transoxiana, near Tirmidh and Qubādhiyān. See de Goeje's *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, where it is mentioned repeatedly.

arrived at the Court of Chaghāniyān, it was the season of Spring and the Amīr was at the branding-ground. Abu'l-Muzaffar, as I have heard, had 18,000 breeding mares<sup>1</sup>, each one of which was followed by its colt. And every year the Amīr used to go out to brand (۲۲) the colts, and [at this moment he happened to be at the place where the branding was done; while<sup>2</sup>] 'Amīd As'ad, who was his steward, was at the court preparing provisions to be conveyed to the Amīr. To him Farrukhī went, and recited a *qasīda*, and submitted to him the poem he had composed for the Amīr.

Now 'Amīd As'ad was a man of parts and a patron of poets, and in Farrukhī's verse he recognized poetry at once fresh, sweet, pleasing and masterly, while seeing the man himself to be an ill-proportioned Sagzī, clothed in a torn *jubbā* worn anyhow<sup>3</sup>, with a huge turban on his head after the manner of the Sagzīs, with the most unpleasing feet and shoes; and this poetry, withal, in the seventh heaven. He could not believe that it had been composed by this Sagzī, and, to prove him, said, "The Amīr is at the branding-ground, whither I go to wait upon him: and thither I will take thee also, for it is a mighty pleasant spot—

جهانی در جهانی سبز بینی

"World within world of verdure wilt thou see"—

full of tents and lamps like stars, and from each tent come the strains of the lute, and friends sit together, drinking wine and making merry, while before the Amīr's pavilion a great fire is kindled, in size like unto several mountains, whereat they brand the colts. And the Amīr, with the goblet in one hand and the lasso in the other, drinks wine and gives away horses. Compose, now, a *qasīda*, suitable to the occasion, describing the branding-ground, so that I may take thee before the Amīr."

That night Farrukhī went and composed a very fine *qasīda*, which next morning he brought before 'Amīd As'ad. This is the *qasīda*:—

چون پرند نیلگون بر روی پوشد مرغزار

پرنیان هفت رنگ اندر سرآرد کوهسار

<sup>1</sup> The variant *راهی* is explained in the margin of L. as meaning گردنده و دونده, which I originally translated "roadster." The verb زهیدن, from which زهی seems to be derived, appears to be a variant of زادن.

<sup>2</sup> These words are omitted in the printed edition.

<sup>3</sup> *Plū u pās*, "hind before."

<sup>4</sup> See pp. ۱۱۱-۱۱۷ of the lithographed edition of Farrukhī's works published at Tihān for Mīrzā Mahdī Khān *Baddar-nigār*, poetically surnamed Mukhlis, in A.H. 1301. Of the 52 bayts there given, only 22 are cited in the *Chahār Maqāla*. The poem is also given by Dawlatshāh (pp. ۳۳-۳۷ of my edition). Only the more important variants are given here.

خاڪ را چون ناب آهو مشك زايد بيقباس<sup>۱</sup>  
 بيدرا چون پَر طوطی برگ روید بهشمار<sup>۲</sup>  
 دوش وقت نیم شب<sup>۳</sup> بوی بهار آورد باد<sup>۴</sup>  
 حبذا باد شمال و خرمای بوی بهار<sup>۵</sup>  
 باد گوئی مشك سوده دارد اندر آستین<sup>۶</sup>  
 باغ گوئی لعبتای جلوه دارد در کنار<sup>۷</sup>  
 (۳۸) نسترن لؤلؤیی بیضا دارد اندر مُسكله<sup>۸</sup>  
 ارغوان لعل بدخشی دارد اندر گوشوار<sup>۹</sup>  
 تا بر آمد جامهای سرخ مل پر شاخ گل<sup>۱۰</sup>  
 پنجه‌ها چون<sup>۱۱</sup> دست مردم سرفرو کرد از چنار<sup>۱۲</sup>  
 باغ بو قلمون لباس و شاخ بو قلمون نمای<sup>۱۳</sup>  
 آب مروارید گون و ابر مروارید بار<sup>۱۴</sup>  
 راست پنداری که خلعتهای رنگین یافتند<sup>۱۵</sup>  
 باغهای پر نگار از داغگاه شهریار<sup>۱۶</sup>  
 داغگاه شهریار اکنون چنان خرم شود<sup>۱۷</sup>  
 کاندرو از خرمی غیره همانند روزگار<sup>۱۸</sup>  
 سبزه اندو سبزه بینی چون سپهر اندر سپهر<sup>۱۹</sup>  
 خیمه اندر خیمه بینی چون<sup>۲۰</sup> حصار اندر حصار<sup>۲۱</sup>  
 هر کجا خیمه است خفته عاشقی با دوست مست<sup>۲۲</sup>  
 هر کجا سبزه است شادان یاری از دیدار یار<sup>۲۳</sup>  
 سبزه‌ها پر بانگ چنگ و<sup>۲۴</sup> مطربان چرب دست<sup>۲۵</sup>  
 خیمه‌ها با بانگ نوش و ساقیان میگسار<sup>۲۶</sup>  
 عاشقان بوس و کنار و نیکوان ناز و عتاب<sup>۲۷</sup>  
 مطربان رود و سرود و خفتگان خواب و خماری<sup>۲۸</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The printed text has ضیهدرم for نیم شب.

<sup>2</sup> A gloss in the lithographed Tihān edition explains this word as meaning "necklace" (گردن بند), which meaning is also given in the *Ghiyāthi'l-Lughāt*.

<sup>3</sup> Variant ... دست.

<sup>4</sup> The printed text has چون سیمین حصار.

<sup>5</sup> The printed text has با for پر and om. و after چنگ.



بر در پرده سرای خسرو<sup>۱</sup> پیروز بخت  
 از بی داغ آتشی افروخته غورشیدوار  
 بر کشیده آتشی چون مطرد دبیای زرد<sup>۲</sup>  
 گرم چون طبع جوان زرد چون زر عیار  
 داغها چون شاخهای بسد یا قوت رنگ<sup>۳</sup>  
 هر یکی چون نار دانه کشته اندر زیر نار  
 بردگان<sup>۴</sup> بخواب نا دیده مصاف اندر مصاف  
 مرکبان داغ نا چکرده قطار اندر قطار  
 خسرو فرخ سیر بر باره دریا گذر<sup>۵</sup>  
 با کمند اندر میان دشت همچون اسفندیار  
 همچو زلف دلبران بخرد ساله<sup>۶</sup> تاب خورد  
 همچو عهد<sup>۷</sup> دوستان با بخورده استوار  
 میر عادل<sup>۸</sup> بو المظفر شاه با پیوستگان  
 شهریار شیرگیر و پادشاه شهر دار<sup>۹</sup>  
 [اژدها کردار پیچان در کف رادش کمند  
 چون عصای موسوی در دبهت موسی کشته مار]<sup>۱۰</sup>  
 هر کرا اندر کمند همت یازی در فکند  
 گشت نامش<sup>۱۱</sup> بر سیرین و شانه و رویش نگار  
 هر چه زین سو داغ کرد از سوی دیگر هدیه داد<sup>۱۲</sup>  
 شاعران را با لکام و زایران را با قمار<sup>۱۳</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Majma'u'l-Furugh*, as pointed out by the Editor (p. ۱۶۶), arbitrarily substitutes طاهر for خسرو, in order to support the theory that the poem was composed in honour of No. 6 not No. 7 of the House of Chaghaniyân. See Note XVIII at the end.

<sup>2</sup> The printed text has بردگان explained as "slave-boys" (غلام بهچگان). The Tihriñ ed. has دیدگان, "eyes."

<sup>3</sup> The printed text has نیکوان مرو گیسو.

<sup>4</sup> The lithograph substitutes "*Fakhr-i-Dawlat*."

<sup>5</sup> Both the printed and the lithographed editions have:—

شادمان و شادخوار و کامران و کامکار

<sup>6</sup> This verse only occurs in the Tihriñ lithographed edition (L.).

<sup>7</sup> The lithographed edition has دابش.

<sup>8</sup> A., B. and L. have میدهد.

- 14 *Since the meadow hides its face in satin shot with greens and blues,  
And the mountains wrap their brows in silken veils of seven hues,  
Earth is teeming like the musk-pod with aromas rich and rare,  
Foliage bright as parrot's plumage doth the graceful willow wear.*  
 15 *Yestern the midnight breezes brought the tidings of the spring:  
Welcome, O ye northern gales, for this glad promise which ye bring!*  
 16 *Up the sleeve the wind, misseemeth, pounded musk hath scented away,  
While the garden fills its lap with shining dolls, as though for play.*  
 17 *On the branches of syringa necklaces of pearls we see,  
Ruby ear-rings of Badakhshān sparkle on the Judas-tree.*  
 18 *Since the branches of the rose-bush carmine cups and beakers bore,  
Human-like five-fingered hands reach downwards from the sycamore.*  
 19 *Gardens all chameleon-coated, branches with chameleon whorls,  
Pearly-lustrous pools around us, clouds above us raining pearls!*  
 20 *On the gleaming plain this coat of many colours doth appear  
Like a robe of honour granted in the court of our Amir.*  
 21 *For our Prince's Camp of Branding stirreth in these joyful days  
So that all this age of ours in joyful wonder stands agaze.*  
 22 *Green within the green you see, like skies within the firmament;  
Like a fort within a fortress spreads the army tent on tent.*  
 23 *Every tent contains a lover resting in his sweetheart's arms,  
Every patch of grass revealeth to a friend a favourite's charms.*  
 24 *Harp is sounding 'midst the verdure, minstrels sing their lays divine,  
Tents resound with clink of glasses as the pages pour the wine.*  
 25 *Kisses, clasplings from the lovers; coy reproaches from the fair;  
Wine-born slumbers for the sleepers, while the minstrels wake the air.*  
 26 *Branding-fires, like suns ablaze, are kindled at the spacious gate  
Leading to the state-pavilion of our Prince so fortunate.*  
 27 *Leap the flames like gleaming standards draped with yellow-hued brocade,  
Hotter than a young man's temper, yellower than gold assayed.*  
 28 *Branding tools like coral branches ruby-tinted glow amain  
In the fire, as in the ripe pomegranate glows the crimson grain.*  
 29 *Rank on rank of active boys, whose watchful eyes no slumber know;  
Steeds which still await the branding, rank on rank and row on row.*  
 30 *On his horse, the river-forder, roams our genial Prince afar,  
Ready to his hand the lasso, like a young Isfāndiyār.*  
 31 *Like the locks of pretty children see it how it curls and bends,  
Yet be sure its hold is stronger than the covenant of friends.*  
 32 *Bu'l-Muḡaffar Shāh the just, surrounded by a noble band,  
King and conqueror of cities, brave defender of the land.*  
 33 *Serpent-coiled in skilful hands fresh forms his whirling noose doth take,  
Like unto the rod of Moses metamorphosed to a snake.*  
 34 *Whoever hath been captured by that noose and circling line,  
On the face and flank and shoulder ever bears the Royal Sign.*  
 35 *But, though on one side he brands, he giveth also rich rewards,  
Leads his poets with a bridle, binds his guests as though with cords."*

When 'Amīd As'ad heard this rhapsody, he was overwhelmed with amazement, for never had the like of it reached his ears. He put aside all his business, mounted Farrukhī on a horse, and set out for the Amīr, whose presence he entered about sun-down, saying, "O Sire, I bring thee a poet the like of whom no one hath seen since Daqīqī's face was veiled in the tomb." Then he related what had passed.

Then the Amīr accorded Farrukhī an audience, and when he came in he did reverence, and the Amīr gave him his hand and

assigned him an honourable place, enquiring after his health, treating him with kindness, and inspiring him with hopes of favours to come. When the wine had gone round several times<sup>1</sup>, Farrukhī arose, and, in a sweet and plaintive voice, recited his elegy beginning:—

با کاروانِ حِلّه بر قمرِ سیستان، با حِلّه تنیده ز دل بافته ز جان

"With caravan for Hilla bound from Sistan did I start,  
With fabrics spun within my brain and woven by my heart."

When he had finished, the Amīr, who appreciated poetry and was himself something of a poet, expressed his astonishment at this rhapsody. 'Amīd Nās'ad said, "O Sire, wait till you see something still better!" Farrukhī was silent and held his peace until the wine had produced its full effect on the Amīr, then he arose and recited this rhapsody (١٠) on the branding-ground. The Amīr was amazed, and in his admiration turned to Farrukhī, saying, "They have brought in a thousand colts, all with white foreheads, fetlocks and feet, bred in Khatlān<sup>2</sup>. The way is [open] to thee! Thou art a cunning rascal, a Sagzī; catch as many as thou art able, that they may be thine." Farrukhī, on whom the wine had produced its full effect, came out, straightway took his turban from his head, hurled himself into the midst of the herd, and chased, a drove of them before him across the plain; but, though he caused them to gallop right and left in every direction, he could not catch a single one. At length a ruined rest-house situated on the edge of the camping-ground came into view, and thither the colts fled. Farrukhī, being utterly tired out, placed his turban under his head in the porch of the rest-house, and at once went to sleep, by reason of his extreme weariness and the effects of the wine. When they counted the colts, they were forty-two in number. They went and told the Amīr, who, greatly surprised, laughed heartily and said, "He is a lucky fellow, and will come to great things. Look after him and the colts as well, and when he awakes, waken me too." So they obeyed the King's orders.

Next day, at sunrise, Farrukhī arose. The Amīr had already risen, and, when he had performed his prayers, he gave Farrukhī an audience, treated him with great consideration, and handed over the colts to his attendants. He also ordered Farrukhī to be given a horse and equipments suitable to a man of rank, as well as two tents, three mules, five slaves, wearing apparel and carpets. So Farrukhī prospered in his service, and enjoyed the greatest circumstance. Then he waited upon Sultān Yamīnu'd-Dawla

<sup>1</sup> I prefer the reading *دَوَرِي* to *دَوَرِي*, and Mirzā Muḥammad concurs.

<sup>2</sup> The Editor shews in a note (pp. ١٦٦-١٦٨ of the text) that *Khatlān* is the Persian and *Khattal* the Arabic name of a place in Transoxiana celebrated for its fine horses, called *Khattil*.

Maḥmūd, who, seeing him thus magnificently equipped, regarded him with the same regard, and his affairs reached such a pitch of prosperity that twenty servants girt with silver girdles rode behind him.

#### ANECDOTE XVI.

In the year A.H. 510 (A.D. 1116-1117) the King of Islām, Sanjar the son of Malikshāh the Saljūq (may God prolong his existence and continue his exaltation to the heights!), chanced to be encamped at the spring season within the marches of Tūs, in the plain of Turūq<sup>1</sup>, where he remained for two months. There I, in hopes of obtaining some favour, joined his Court from Herāt, having then nothing in the way of equipment<sup>(1)</sup> or provision. I composed a *qasīda* and went to Mu'izzī the Poet-laureate, to seek an opening through him. Having looked at my poem, he tested me in several ways, and I satisfied his expectations. He then behaved in the most generous manner, and deemed it his duty to act in the way befitting so great a man.

One day I expressed in his presence a hope that fortune would be more favourable to me, and complained of my luck. He encouraged me, saying, "Thou hast laboured hard to acquire this science, and hast fully mastered it: surely this will have its effect. My own case was precisely similar; and good poetry has never yet been wasted. Thou hast a goodly share in this art: thy verse is even and melodious, and is still improving. Wait and see the advantages which thou wilt reap from this science. For though Fortune should at first be grudging, matters will eventually turn out as thou wishest.

"My father Burhānī, the Poet-laureate (may God be merciful to him!) passed away from this transitory to that eternal world in the town of Qazwīn in the early part of the reign of Malikshāh, entrusting me to the King in this verse, since then become famous<sup>2</sup>:—

من رقتم و فرزند من آمد خلف صدق ' اورا بخدا و بخداوند سپردم

"I am flitting, but I leave a son behind me,  
And commend him to my God and to my King."

<sup>1</sup> This place is not mentioned in the geographies, but the Editor (p. 178 of the notes) believes it to be identical with the modern *Turuy*, a large village distant two parasangs from Mashhad on the road to Tīhrān.

<sup>2</sup> This verse, to which are added several others, is commonly ascribed to the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, e.g. by Dawlatshāh (p. 49 of my edition). Apart from the improbability that one who lay dying of a mortal wound would be in the mood to compose verses, we learn from this anecdote that the Nizāmu'l-Mulk "had no opinion of poets because he had no skill in their art." The verse which gives his age as 94 at the time of his death, when he was in reality some fifteen or twenty years younger (born 408/1017, assassinated 485/1093), is alone enough to discredit the legend, while the authority of the *Chahār Magāla*, of which the author derived his information directly from Mu'izzī, the son of Burhānī, is far superior to any other source of the story. Compare my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 188-193, and the Persian notes, pp. 178-179.

"So my father's salary and allowances<sup>1</sup> were transferred to me, and I became Maliksháh's court-poet, and spent a year in the King's service; yet during this time I was unable to see him save once from a distance, nor did I get one *dīnār* of my salary or one maund of my allowances, while my expenditure was increased. I became involved in debt, and my brain was perplexed by my affairs. For that great Minister the Nizámu'l-Mulk (may God be merciful to him!), had no opinion of poetry, because he had no skill in it; nor did he pay any attention to any one except religious leaders and mystics.

"One day—it was the eve of the day on which [the new moon of] Ramaḍán was due [to appear], and I had not a farthing for all the expenses incidental to that month and the feast which follows it—I went thus sad at heart to the Amír 'Alí ibn Farámarz<sup>2</sup> 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, a man of royal parentage, a lover of poetry, and the intimate companion of the King, with whom he was connected by marriage and enjoyed the highest honour, and before whom he could speak boldly, for he held high rank under that administration. And he had already been my patron. I said, 'May my lord's life be long! Not all that the father could do (if) can the son do, nor does that which accrued to the father accrue to the son. My father was a bold and energetic man, and was sustained by his art, and the martyred King Alp Arslán, the lord of the world, entertained the highest opinion of him. But what he could do that can I not, for modesty forbids me, and my retiring disposition supports it. I have served [this prince] for a year, and have contracted debts to the extent of a thousand *dīnārs*, and have not received a farthing. Crave permission, then, for thy servant to go to Nishápúr, and discharge his debts, and live on that which is left over, and pray for this victorious Dynasty.'

"'Thou speakest truly,' replied Amír 'Alí: 'We have all been at fault, but this shall be so no longer. The King, at the time of Evening Prayer, will come out to look for the new moon. Thou must be present there, and we will see what chance Fortune will offer.' Thereupon he at once ordered me to receive a hundred *dīnārs* to defray my Ramaḍán expenses, and a purse<sup>3</sup> containing

<sup>1</sup> According to the Editor's note (p. 111 of the text) *jāma'ī* is equivalent to the modern *mamūl* or *mustamirri*, and means wages in cash, while *ijrā* (the modern *ijra*) means allowances, especially in kind.

<sup>2</sup> 'Alí ibn Farámarz the Kákwayhid is intended. See S. Lane-Poole's *Muhammadian Dynasties*, p. 145, and Mirzá Muḥammad's note on pp. 111-112 of the text. He is called *Dāmdād* ("son-in-law," but here in the wider sense of "sib") because in 469/1076-7 he married Maliksháh's paternal aunt, Arslán Khātún, widow of the Caliph al-Qá'im biamrillāh. He ultimately fell in battle in 488/1095.

<sup>3</sup> *Muḥr* ordinarily means a seal, but Mirzá Muḥammad (p. 110 of the Persian notes) quotes other passages shewing that it was also used in the sense of a sealed purse, containing a definite and certified sum of money.

this sum in Nishápúr coinage was forthwith brought and placed before me. So I returned mightily well pleased, and made my preparations for Ramadán, and at the time of the Evening Prayer went to the entrance of the King's pavilion. It chanced that 'Alá'u'd-Dawla arrived at the very same moment, and I paid my respects to him. 'Thou hast done excellently well,' said he, 'and hast come punctually.' Then he dismounted and went in before the King.

"At sun-down the King came forth from his pavilion, with a cross-bow in his hand and 'Alá'u'd-Dawla on his right side. I ran forward to do obeisance. Amír 'Alí continued his kindnesses, and they then busied themselves in looking for the moon. The King, however, was the first to see it, whereat he was mightily pleased. Then 'Alá'u'd-Dawla said to me, 'O son of Burhání, say something original about this moon,' and I at once recited these two couplets:—

ای ماه چو ابروانِ یاری گوئی    یا نی چو کمانِ شهبازی گوئی  
نعلی زده از زرِ عیاری گوئی    در گوشِ سپهرِ گوشواری گوئی

*"Methinks, O Moon, thou art our Prince's bow,  
Or his curved eyebrow, which doth charm us so,  
Or else a horse-shoe wrought of gold refined,  
Or ring from Heaven's ear depending low."*

"When I had submitted these verses, Amír 'Alí applauded much, and the King said, 'Go, loose from the stable whichever horse thou pleasest'; for at that moment we were standing close to the stable. Amír 'Alí designated a horse which was brought out and given to my attendants, and which proved to be worth three hundred *dinars* of Nishápúr. The King then went to his oratory, and I performed the evening prayer with him, after which we sat down to meat. At the table Amír 'Alí said, 'O son of Burhání! Thou hast not yet said anything about this favour conferred on thee by the lord of the world. (۱۲) Compose a quatrain at once!' I thereupon sprang to my feet, did obeisance and immediately recited these two verses just as they came to me:—

چون آتشِ خاطرِ مرا شاهِ بدید    از خاکِ مرا هر زیرِ ماه کشید  
چون آبِ یکی ترانه از من بشنید    چون بادِ یکی موکبِ حاضرِ بخشید

*"The King beheld the fire which in me blazed:  
Me from low earth above the moon he raised:  
From me a verse, like water fluent, heard,  
And swift as wind a noble steed conferred."*

"When I recited these verses 'Alá'u'd-Dawla warmly applauded me, and by reason of his applause the King gave me a thousand *dinārs*. Then 'Alá'u'd-Dawla said, 'He hath not yet received his salary and allowances. To-morrow I will sit on the Minister's skirt until he writes a draft for his salary on Ispahán, and orders his allowances to be paid out of the treasury.' Said the King, 'Thou must do it, then, for no one else has sufficient assurance. And call this poet after my title.' Now the King's title was *Mu'izzu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín*, so Amír 'Alí called me 'Master Mu'izzí.' 'Amír Mu'izzí,' said the King, [correcting him]. And this noble and nobly born lord sowrought for me that next day, by the time of the afternoon prayer, I had received a thousand *dinārs* as a gift, twelve hundred more as allowances, and likewise an order for a thousand maunds of corn. And when the month of Ramaḡán was past, he summoned me to court, and caused me to become the King's boon-companion. So my fortune began to improve, and thenceforth he made continuing provision for me, and to-day whatever I have I possess by the favour of that Prince. May God<sup>2</sup> blessed and exalted is He, rejoice his dust with the lights of His Mercy, by His Favour and His Grace!"

#### ANECDOTE XVII.

The House of Saljúq were all fond of poetry, but none more so than Tughánsháh ibn Alp Arslán<sup>1</sup>, whose conversation and intercourse was entirely with poets, and whose favourite companions were almost all of this class—men such as Amír Abú 'Abdu'lláh Qorashí, Abú Bakr Azraqí<sup>2</sup>, Abú Mansúr the son of Abú Yúsuf<sup>3</sup>, Shujá'í of Nasá, Ahmad Badhí<sup>4</sup>, Haqlí and Nasímí, all of whom were ranked in his service, while many others kept coming and going, all departing with gifts and joyful countenances.

One day the King was playing backgammon with Ahmad Badhí. They were finishing a game for [a stake of] ten thousand [? *dirhams*], (11) and the Amír had two pieces in the sixth house and

<sup>1</sup> His full names and titles were *Shamsu'd-Dawla Abul-Fawzris Tughánsháh ibn Alp Arslán Muhammad ibn Chaghri Beg ibn Mikh'il ibn Saljúq*. During the reign of Alp Arslán he governed Khurásán from Herát. By Ridá-quli Khán (*Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣah*, i, 139) and other biographers he has been confused with Tughánsháh ibn Mu'ayyad Ay-aba. See the Editor's note on the text, pp. 17.—177, where many passages from poems in his praise by Azraqí are cited.

<sup>2</sup> See Note XX at the end, and the Editor's long note on pp. 171.—172 of the text; 'Awfi's *Lubāb*, ch. x, No. 3; Dawlatsháh (pp. 72-73 of my ed.), *Tabaqa* 11, No. 1; and *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣah*, vol. i, pp. 174.—175.

<sup>3</sup> Abú Mansúr 'Abdu'r-Rashid ibn Ahmad ibn Abí Yúsuf al-Hirawí. See 'Awfi's *Lubāb*, vol. ii, p. 71. A few lines lower in this story the author mentions having met him at Herát in 509/1115-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣah*, i, p. 171. His *laqab* was Majdu'd-Dín and his *nisba* Sajáwandí.

Ahmad Badīhī two pieces in the first house<sup>1</sup>; and it was the Amīr's throw. He threw with the most deliberate care, in order to cast two sixes, instead of which he threw two ones, whereat he was mightily vexed and lost his temper (for which, indeed, he had good cause), while his anger rose so high and reached such a pitch that each moment he was putting his hand to his sword, while his courtiers trembled like the leaves of a tree, seeing that he was a King, and withal a boy angered at such spite of Fortune.

Then Abū Bakr Azraqī arose, and, approaching the minstrels, recited this quatrain:—

گر شاه دو شش خواست دو یک زخم افتاد  
تا طلق نبری که کعبتین داد نداد  
آن زخم که کرد رای شاهنش پاد  
در خدمت شاه روی بر خاک نهاد

*"Reproach not Fortune with discourteous tricks,  
If by the King, desiring double six,  
Two ones were thrown; for whomsoever he calls  
Face to the earth before him prostrate falls."*

When I was at Herāt in the year A.H. 509 (A.D. 1115-1116), Abū Manšūr the son of Abū Yūsuf related to me that the Amīr Tughānshāh was so charmed and delighted with these two verses that he kissed Azraqī on the eyes, called for gold, and successively placed five hundred *dīndrs* in his mouth, continuing thus to reward him so long as one gold piece was left. Thus did he recover his good humour and such largesse did he bestow, and the cause of all this was one quatrain. May God Almighty have mercy on both of them, by His Favour and Grace!

#### ANECDOTE XVIII.

In the year A.H. 472 (A.D. 1079-1080)<sup>2</sup> a certain spiteful person laid a statement before Sultān Ibrāhīm to the effect that his son, Amīr Maḥmūd Sayfu'd-Dawla, intended to go to 'Irāq to wait on Malikshāh. The King's jealousy was aroused, and it so worked on him that suddenly he had his son seized, bound, and interned

<sup>1</sup> For the explanation of this passage I am indebted to my friend Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār of the Persian Legation. The six "houses" on each side of the backgammon board are named (proceeding from left to right) as follows: (1) *khāl-khān* or *yak-gāh*, (2) *dū-khān*, (3) *si-khān*, (4) *chaḥḥr-khān*, (5) *haḍ-dar*, (6) *shīsh-khān* or *shīsh-dar-gāh*. The numbers contained in these names allude to the numbers which must be thrown with the dice to get the pieces which occupy them off the board.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. and L. all have "572," an evident error, for (1) Sultān Ibrāhīm the Ghaznawī reigned A.H. 451-492 (A.D. 1059-1099); (2) Malikshāh reigned A.H. 463-485 (A.D. 1072-1092); (3) the poet in question died in A.H. 515 or 525 (A.D. 1121 or 1130); (4) the *Chaḥḥr Maḥdla*, as we have already seen, was written during the lifetime of Sultān 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Ḥusayn *Jahān-shāh*, i.e. before A.H. 556 (A.D. 1161).



in a fortress. His son's intimates (۱۰) also he arrested and interned, amongst them Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, whom he sent to Wajīristān<sup>1</sup>, to the Castle of Náy<sup>2</sup>; whence he sent the following quatrain to the King:—

در بند تو ای شاه ملک شه باید ' تا بند تو پایم تاجداری ساید  
آن کس که ز پشت سعد سلمان آید ' گر زهر شود ملک ترا نکزاید

"O King, 'tis Malik Shah should wear thy chain,  
That royal limbs might fret with captive's pain;  
But Sa'd-i-Salmān's offspring could not hurt,  
Though venomous as poison, thy domain!"

'Alī Khāss brought this quatrain to the King, but it produced no effect on him, though all wise and impartial critics will recognize what rank Mas'ūd's "Songs of Prison" hold in lofty feeling, and what degree in eloquence. Sometimes, when I read his verses, the hair stands on end on my body, and the tears are like to trickle from my eyes. All these verses were read to the King, and he heard them, yet they affected him not at all, and not one particle of his being was warmed to enthusiasm, so that he departed from this world leaving that noble man in prison. Khwāja Salmān says:—

مقصود شد مصالح کار جهانیان  
بر حبس و بند این تن مهجور ناتوان  
بر حبس و بند نیل نداردم استوار  
تا گرد من ندارد ده تن نگاهبان  
هر ده نشسته بر در و در بام سجن من  
با یکدیگر دمام گویند هر زمان  
هان بر جهید زود که حیلتگریست او  
کز آفتاب پل کند از سایه نردبان  
گیرم که ساخته شوم از بهر کارزار  
بیرون جهیز گوشه این سجن ناگهان  
با چند کس بر آیم در قلعه گرچه من  
شیری شوم معربد و پیلی شوم دمان

<sup>1</sup> Mirzā Muḥammad (Persian notes, p. ۱۷۹) at first failed to identify Wajīristān, but now believes it to be identical with the modern Wazīristān.

<sup>2</sup> The only mention of Náy hitherto discovered in Persian geographical works occurs in the *Nuṣṣatu'l-Qulūb*, where it is briefly mentioned in the section dealing with Marw-i-Shāhján.

<sup>3</sup> These verses are inserted in the margin of A. (f. 30<sup>v</sup>) only. They are omitted in the printed text.

بس بی سلاح جنگ چگونه کنم مگر

من سینه را سپر کنم و پشت را کمان

"Naught served the ends of statesmen save that I,  
A helpless exile, should in fetters lie,  
Nor do they deem me safe within their cells,  
Unless surrounded by ten sentinels;  
Which ten sit ever by the gates and walls,  
And ever one unto his comrade calls:  
'Ho there! On guard! This cunning rogue is one  
To fashion bridge and steps from shade and sun!  
Why, grant I stood arrayed for such a fight,  
And suddenly sprang forth, attempting flight,  
Could elephant or raging lion hope,  
Thus cramped in prison-cage, with ten to cope?  
Can I, bereft of weapons, take the field,  
Or make of back and bosom bow and shield?"

So, by reason of his relation to Sayfu'd-Dawla, he remained imprisoned for twelve<sup>1</sup> years in the days of Sultán Ibráhm, and, on account of his like relation to Abú Naṣr of Párs<sup>2</sup>, for eight years more in the reign of Sultán Mas'úd ibn Ibráhm, though none hath been heard of who hath produced so many splendid elegies and rare gems of verse as were born of his brilliant genius. After eight years Thiqatu'l-Mulk Táhir ibn 'Alí ibn Mushkán<sup>3</sup> brought him forth from his bondage, so that, in short, during these two reigns this illustrious man spent all his life in captivity, and the ill repute of this deed remained on this noble House. I hesitate as to the motives which are to be assigned to this act, and whether it is to be ascribed to strength of purpose, recklessness, hardness of heart, or a malicious disposition. In any case it was not a laudable deed, and I have never met with any sensible man who was prepared to praise that administration for such inflexibility of purpose or excess of caution. And I heard it remarked by the King of the world Ghiyáthu'd-Dunyá wa'd-

<sup>1</sup> As Mirzá Muḥammad has pointed out (Persian notes, pp. 129-130) there is some confusion of facts here. Mas'úd suffered two separate periods of imprisonment, the first for ten years, of which seven were spent in Sád and Dahak (between Zaranj and Bust in Sistán), the second for seven or eight years in Maranj in India. Sultán Ibráhm's death took place in A.H. 492 (A.D. 1098-9), so that, if he was still suffering his first imprisonment at that time, it cannot have begun earlier than A.H. 482 (A.D. 1089-1090). We have Mas'úd's own authority for fixing the duration of his imprisonment at ten (not twelve) years. See his verses quoted at the top of p. 130 of the Persian notes.

<sup>2</sup> Qiwámu'l-Mulk Niẓámu'd-Dín Abú Naṣr Hibatu'l-láḥ al-Fársi, a leading statesman during these two reigns and a friend and patron of our poet, fell into disgrace in the reign of Sultán Mas'úd, together with his clients and protégés. He died about 510/1116.

<sup>3</sup> He was prime minister to Sultán Mas'úd ibn Ibráhm, and patron of many poets, including, besides Mas'úd-i-Sad-i-Salmán, Abú'l-Faraj-i-Rúni, Mukhtárí and Saná'í, all of whom have sung his praises. His uncle Abú Naṣr Maṣṣar ibn Mushkán was secretary to Sultán Maḥmúd and Sultán Mas'úd, author of a volume of Memoirs and teacher of the historian Abú'l-Fadl-i-Bayhaql.

Dīn Muḥammad<sup>1</sup>, the son of Malikshāh, at the gates of Hamadān, on the occasion of the rebellion of his son-in-law (may God make fragrant their dust, and exalt their station in Paradise!) Amīr Shihābū'd-Dīn Qutlmush Alp Ghāzī, "It is the sign of a malicious heart to keep a foe imprisoned; for one of two things, either he is loyal or seditious. Then, if the former, it is an injustice to keep him in prison; and if the latter, it is again an injustice to suffer an ill-doer to live." (11) In short that misery of Mas'ūd passed, while this ill repute will endure till the Resurrection.

#### ANECDOTE XIX.

In the time of Sultān Khidr ibn Ibrāhīm<sup>2</sup> the power of the Khāqānīs<sup>3</sup> was at its most flourishing period, while the strength of their administration and the respect in which it was held were such as could not be surpassed.

Now he was a wise and just ruler and an ornament to the throne, and to him appertained the dominion of Transoxiana and Turkistān, while he enjoyed the most complete security on the side of Khurāsān, wherewith he was allied by friendly relations, kinship, and firm treaties and covenants. And of the splendour maintained by him one detail was this, that when he rode out they carried before his horse, besides other arms, seven hundred maces of gold and silver. He was, moreover, a great patron of poets, and in his service were Amīr 'Am'āq<sup>4</sup>, Master Rashīdī, Najjār-i-Sāgharchī, 'Alī Pānīdhī, the son of Darghūsh, the son of Isfarāyīnī, 'Alī Sipihī and Najībī of Farghāna, all of whom obtained rich rewards and vast honours. The Poet-Laureate was Amīr 'Am'āq, who had profited abundantly by that dynasty and obtained the most ample circumstance, comprising Turkish slaves, fair damsels, well-paced horses, golden vessels, sumptuous apparel, and servants, biped and quadruped<sup>5</sup>, innumerable. He was greatly honoured at the King's Court, so that of necessity the other poets

<sup>1</sup> The seventh Saljūq king, who reigned A.H. 498-511 (A.D. 1104-1117). There is, as pointed out by Mirzā Muḥammad (pp. 117-118 of the Persian notes) an extraordinary confusion of dates and persons in this story. See also Note XXI at the end.

<sup>2</sup> Sultān Khidr Khān ibn Taḡhāj Khān Ibrāhīm ibn Naṣr Arslān (known as Ilak) ibn 'Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Suroq succeeded his brother Shamsu'l-Mulk Naṣr ibn Ibrāhīm in A.H. 474 (A.D. 1081-2), but died shortly afterwards. See Ilmu'l-Athir *rub' amro* A.H. 408, and the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahān-ār* (Or. 141 of the British Museum, f. 133\*).

<sup>3</sup> This Turkish Muslim dynasty, also known as Khāniyya, Ilak Khāns, and Āl-i-Afrāsiyāb, reigned for about 230 lunar years (A.H. 380-609=A.D. 990-1212) in Transoxiana, and was finally overthrown by the Khwārazmshāhs. See S. Lane-Poole's *Muḥammadan Dynasties*, pp. 134-135; Note XXII at the end; and pp. 118-119 of the Persian notes.

<sup>4</sup> Mention has already been made of all these poets on p. 1A of the text (=pp. 29-30 of this translation) with the exception of "the son of Isfarāyīnī." See pp. 111-112 of the Persian notes, and Note XIV at the end.

<sup>5</sup> Literally, "speaking and silent," or "articulate and dumb."

must needs do him reverence. Such homage as from the others he desired from Master Rashídí also, but herein he was disappointed, for Rashídí, though still young, was nevertheless learned in his art. The Lady Zaynab was the special object of his panegyrics, while all Khidr Khán's women were at his command, and he enjoyed the fullest favour of the King, who was continually praising him and asserting his merits, so that Rashídí's affairs prospered, the title of "Prince of poets" was conferred on him, he continued to rise higher in the King's opinion, and from him received gifts of great value.

One day, in Rashídí's absence, the King asked 'Am'aq, "What thinkest thou of the verse of Rashídí, 'the Prince of poets'?" "His verse," replied he, "is extremely good and chaste and correct, but it wants a little spice."

After some while had elapsed, Rashídí (17) came in and did obeisance, and was about to sit down when the King called him before himself, and said, teasing him as is the way of Kings, "I asked the Poet Laureate just now, 'How is Rashídí's poetry?' He replied that it was good, but wanted spice. Now you must compose a couple of verses on this subject." Rashídí, with a bow, sat down in his place and improvised the following fragment:—

شعرهای مرا به بینمکی عیب کردی روا بود شاید  
شعر من همچو شکر و شهدست و اندرین دو نمک نکوناید  
شلغم و باقلاست گفته تو نمک ای قلیبان ترا باید

*"You stigmatise my verse as 'wanting spice,'  
And possibly, my friend, you may be right.  
My verse is honey-flavoured, sugar-sweet,  
And spice with such could scarcely cause delight.  
Spice is for you, you blackguard, not for me,  
For beans and turnips is the stuff you write!"*

When he submitted these verses the King was mightily pleased. And in Transoxiana it is the custom and practice to place in the audience-chambers of kings and others gold and silver in trays, which they call *sim-fāqā* or *juft*; and in this audience of Khidr Khán's there were set for largesse four trays of red gold, each containing two hundred and fifty *dinārs*; and these he used to dispense by the handful. On this day he ordered Rashídí to receive all four trays, so he obtained the highest honour, and became famous. For just as a patron becomes famous by the verse of a good poet, so do poets likewise achieve renown by receiving a great reward from the King, these two things being interdependent.

<sup>1</sup> Sayyidu'sh-Shu'arā.

## ANECDOTE XX.

Master Abu'l-Qāsim Firdawsī<sup>1</sup> was one of the Dihqāns (land-owners) of Tūs, from a village called Bāzh<sup>2</sup> in the district of Tabarān<sup>3</sup>, a large village capable of supplying a thousand men. There Firdawsī enjoyed an excellent position, so that he was rendered quite independent of his neighbours by the income which he derived from his lands, and he had but one child, a daughter. His one desire in putting the Book of Kings (*Shāh-nāma*) into verse<sup>4</sup> was, out of the reward which he might obtain for it, to supply her with an adequate dowry. He was engaged for twenty-five years on this work ere he (۴۸) finished the book, and to this end he left nothing undone, raising his verse as high as heaven, and causing it in sweet fluency to resemble running water. What genius, indeed, could raise verse to such a height as he does in the letter written by Zāl to Sām the son of Narīman in Māzandarān when he desired to ally himself with Rūdāba the daughter of the King of Kābul<sup>5</sup>:—

یکی نامه فرمود نزدیکِ سام، سراسر درود و نوید و سلام<sup>۶</sup>  
 نخست از جهان آفرین یاد کرد، که هر داد فرمود و هر داد کرد<sup>۷</sup>  
 وزو باد بر سامِ نیرم درود، خداوندِ شمشیر و گویال و خود<sup>۸</sup>  
 چمانده چرمه هنگامِ کرد، چرانده کُرکس اندر نبرد<sup>۹</sup>  
 فزاینده باد آوردگاه، فشانده خون ز ابر سیاه<sup>۱۰</sup>  
 بپردی هنر در هنر ساخته، هنرش از هنر کردنِ افراخته<sup>۱۱</sup>

*"Then to Sām straightway sent he a letter,  
 Filled with fair praises, prayers and good greeting.  
 First made he mention of the World-Maker,  
 Who doom dispenseth and doom fulfilleth.  
 'On Nīram's son Sām,' wrote he, 'the sword-lord,  
 Mail-clad and mace-girt, may the Lord's peace rest!*

<sup>1</sup> This anecdote is cited by Ibn Isfandiyyār in his *History of Tabaristān* (A.H. 613, A.D. 1216. See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 202-204 and 535<sup>b</sup>), whence it was excerpted and published, with a German translation, by Ethé (*Z.D.M.G.*, vol. xlviii, pp. 89-94). It was also utilized by Nöldeke in 1896 in his *Iranische Nationalgeschichte* (*Grundriss d. Iran. Philologie*, vol. ii, pp. 150 et seqq.). A revised edition of this valuable monograph has just appeared (Berlin and Leipzig, 1920). The references here given are, unless otherwise specified, to the original edition.

<sup>2</sup> The *Burhān-i-Qat'* is the only Persian or Arabic book of reference which makes mention of this place as situated near Tūs.

<sup>3</sup> See Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*, p. 151 (p. 25 of the new edition), and Yāqūt, *s.v.* The city of Tūs comprised the two districts of Tabarān (or Tābarān) and Nūqān.

<sup>4</sup> These verses (with some variants) will be found on pp. 124-125 of vol. i of Turner Macan's edition of the *Shāh-nāma* (Calcutta, 1819).

<sup>5</sup> The printed text has خرام for سلام.

<sup>6</sup> The text has سوش for سوش.

*Hurler of horse-troops in hot-contested fights,  
Feeder of carrion-fowls with foemen's flesh-feast,  
Raising the roar of strife on the red war-field,  
From the grim war-clouds grinding the gore-shower.  
Who, by his manly might merit on merit  
Heaps, till his merit merit outmeasures<sup>1</sup>."*

In eloquence I know of no poetry in Persian which equals this, and but little even in Arabic.

When Firdawsī had completed the *Shāhnāma*, it was transcribed by 'Alī Daylam<sup>2</sup> and recited by Abū Dulaf<sup>3</sup>, both of whom he mentions by name in tendering his thanks to Huyayy-i-Qutayba<sup>4</sup>, the governor of Tūs, who had conferred on Firdawsī many favours:—

ازین نامه از نامداران شهر 'علی دیلمرو بو دلف راست بهر  
نیامد جز اُجُنتشان بهروامه بگفت اندر اُحُنتشان زهرامه  
حیی قتیبه است از آزادگان 'که از من نخواهد سخن رایگان  
نیم آکه از اصل و فرع خراج 'همی غلطم اندر میان دواج

"Of the men of renown of this city 'Alī Daylam and Abū Dulaf have participated in this book.

From them my portion was naught save 'Well done!'

My gall-bladder was like to burst with their 'Well done!'

Huyayy the son of Qutayba is a nobleman who asks me not for unrewarded verse.

I know nothing either of the root nor the branches of the land-tax;

I lounge [at ease] in the midst of my quill<sup>5</sup>."

Huyayy the son of Qutayba was the revenue-collector of Tūs, and deemed it his duty at least to abate the taxes payable by Firdawsī; hence naturally his name will endure till the Resurrection and Kings will read it.

So 'Alī Daylam transcribed the *Shāhnāma* in seven volumes, and Firdawsī, taking with him Abū Dulaf, set out for the Court of Ghazna. There, by the help of the great Minister Aḥmad ibn Hasan<sup>6</sup>, the secretary, he presented it, and it was accepted, Sultān

<sup>1</sup> Poor as this rendering is, I am strongly of opinion that for an English rendering of the *Shāhnāma* (which always seems to me very analogous in aim, scope, and treatment to that little-read English Epic, the *Brut* of Layamon) the old English alliterative verse would be the most suitable form.

<sup>2</sup> See Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 153 (p. 27 of the new edition), and n. 2 *ad calc.*

<sup>3</sup> So A. and L. B. has the more usual "Husayn b. Qutayba." Cf. Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> I.e. I am sick of their barren and unprofitable plaudits. As these poor men rendered him material service in other ways, Firdawsī's remarks seem rather ungrateful.

<sup>5</sup> What follows is evidently an explanation of this complete. Firdawsī means that being no longer vexed with the exactions of the tax-gatherer, he can now repose in peace.

<sup>6</sup> This celebrated minister had the title *Shams-i-Kuṣṭ* and the *nisba* of al-Maymandī. He died in 424/1033 after twenty years' service as Minister to Sulṭān Maḥmūd.

Mahmūd expressing himself as greatly indebted to his Minister. But the Prime Minister had enemies who were continually casting the dust of misrepresentation into the cup of his rank, and Mahmūd (۱۱) consulted with them as to what he should give Firdawsī. They replied, "Fifty thousand *dirhams*, and even that is too much, seeing that he is in belief a Rāfidī and a Mu'tazilite. Of his Mu'tazilite views this verse is a proof:—

به بینندگان آفریننده را نبینی مرنجان دو بیننده را

*Thy ~~Creator~~ the Creator can never descry;  
Therefore, by gazing, dost weary thine eye?*

"while to his Rāfidī proclivities these verses of his witness:—

خردمند گیتی چو دریا نهاد      بر انگشته موج از آن تند باد  
چو هفتاد کشتی دران ساخته      همه بادبانها بر افراخته  
میانه یکی خوب کشتی عروس      بر آراسته همچو چشم عروس  
پیمبر بدو اندرون با علی      همه اهل بیت نبی و ولی  
اگر خلد خواهی بدیگر سراي      بنزد نبی و وصی گیر جای  
گرت زین بد آید گناه منست      چنین دان و این راه راه منست  
برین زادم و هر برین بگذرم      یقین دان که خاک پی حیدرم

*The wise man conceives the world as a sea, wherefrom the fierce wind has stirred up waves.*

*Thereon are seventy ships<sup>1</sup> afloat, all with sails set,  
And amongst them one vessel, fair as a bride, decked with colour like the  
eye of the cock,  
Wherein sits the Prophet and 'All, with all the Family of the Prophet and  
his Vicar.*

*If thou desirest Paradise in the other World, take thy place by the Prophet  
and his Trustee.*

*If ill accrues to thee thereby, it is my fault: know this, that this way is my  
way.*

*In this I was born, and in this I will pass away: know for a surety that I  
am as dust at feet of 'All.<sup>2</sup>*

Now Sultān Mahmūd was a zealot, and he listened to these imputations and caught hold of them, and in all only twenty thousand *dirhams* were paid to Ḥakīm Firdawsī. He was bitterly disappointed, went to the bath, and, on coming out, bought a draft of sherbet<sup>3</sup>, and divided the money between the bath-man and the sherbet-seller. Knowing, however, Mahmūd's

<sup>1</sup> That is the seventy (or seventy-two) sects of Islām "all of which are doomed to Hell-fire save one which shall be saved."

<sup>2</sup> *Fayḍ*, described as a kind of beer. See Schlimmer's *Terminologie Pharmaceutique* (lith. Tibrin, 1874), p. 75, and Abdul-Chalig Akhundow's German translation, with notes, of the Pharmacology of Abū Manḍūr Muwaffaq ibn 'Alī al-Hirawī, pp. 241 and 388-389.

severity, he fled from Ghazna by night, and alighted in Herát at the shop of Azraq's father, Isma'íl the bookseller (*Warráq*), where he remained in hiding for six months, until Maḥmúd's messengers had reached Tús and had turned back thence, when Firdawsí, feeling secure, set out from Herát for Tús, taking the *Sháhnáma* with him. Thence he came to Tabaristán to the Sipahbad Shahriyár<sup>1</sup> of the House of Báwand, who was King there; and this is a noble house which traces its descent from Yazdigird<sup>2</sup> the son of Shahriyár.

Then Firdawsí wrote a satire of a hundred couplets on Sultán Maḥmúd in the Preface, and read it to Shahriyár<sup>3</sup>, saying, "I will dedicate this book to you instead of to Sultán Maḥmúd, for this book deals wholly with the legends and deeds of the forebears." Shahriyár treated him with honour and shewed him many kindnesses, and said, "O Master, Maḥmúd was induced to act thus by others, who did not submit your book to him under proper conditions, (••) and misrepresented you. Moreover you are a Shí'ite, and whosoever loves the Family of the Prophet his worldly affairs will prosper no more than theirs. Maḥmúd is my liege-lord: let the *Sháhnáma* stand in his name, and give me the satire which you have written on him, that I may expunge it and give you some little recompense; and Maḥmúd will surely summon thee and seek to satisfy thee fully, for the labour spent on such a book must not be wasted." And next day he sent Firdawsí 100,000 *dirhams*, saying, "I buy each couplet at a thousand *dirhams*, give me those hundred couplets, and be reconciled to Maḥmúd." So Firdawsí sent him these verses, and he ordered them to be expunged; and Firdawsí also destroyed his rough copy of them, so that this satire was done away with and only these six verses of it remained<sup>4</sup>:—

مرا غمز کردند کان پر سخن	بمهر نبی و علی شد کهن
اگر مهرشان من حکایت کنم	چو محمود را صد حمایت کنم
پرستار زاده نیاید بیکار	و گر چند باشد پدر شهریار
ازین در سخن چند رانم همی	چو دریا کرانه ندانم همی
به نیکی نبند شاه را دستگاه	و گرنه مرا بر نشاندی بگاه
چو اندر تبارش بزرگی نبود	ندانست نام بزرگان شود

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have Shahrzád and the lithographed edition Shírzád, both of which readings are erroneous. The correct reading Shahriyár is given by Ibn Isfandiyyár in his citation of this passage. His full genealogy, with references to the histories in which mention is made of him, is given on p. 190 of the Persian notes.

<sup>2</sup> The last Sásanian king.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*, p. 155, and n. 4 *ad calc.*

<sup>4</sup> This is a remarkable statement, and, if true, would involve the assumption that the well-known satire, as we have it, is spurious. Cf. Nöldeke (*op. cit.*), pp. 155-156, and n. 1 on the latter, and pp. 30-31 of his new edition of *Das Iran. Nationalepos*.



*"They cast imputations on me, saying, 'That man of many words  
Hath grown old in the love of the Prophet and 'Alī.'  
If I speak of my love for these  
I can protect a hundred such as Maḥmūd.  
No good can come of the son of a slave,  
Even though his father hath ruled as King.  
How long shall I speak on this subject?  
Like the sea I know no shore.  
The King had no aptitude for good,  
Else would he have seated me on a throne.  
Since in his family there was no nobility  
He could not bear to hear the names of the noble."*

In truth good service was rendered to Maḥmūd by Shāhriyār, and Maḥmūd was greatly indebted to him.

When I was at Nishāpūr in the year A.H. 514 (A.D. 1120-1121), I heard Amīr Mu'izzī say that he had heard Amīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq at Tūs relate as follows: "Maḥmūd was once in India, and was returning thence towards Ghazna. On the way, as it chanced, there was a rebellious chief possessed of a strong fortress, and next day Maḥmūd encamped at the gates of it, and sent an ambassador to him, bidding him come before him on the morrow, do homage, pay his respects at the Court, receive a robe of honour and return to his place. Next day Maḥmūd rode out with the Prime Minister<sup>1</sup> on his right hand, for the ambassador had turned back and was coming to meet the King. 'I wonder,' said the latter to the Minister, 'what answer he will have given?' Thereupon the Minister recited this verse of Firdawsī's:—

اگر جز بکار من آید جواب ' من و کروز میدان و افراسیاب

*"Should the answer come contrary to my wish,  
Then for me the mace, and the field [of battle], and Afrāsiyāb."* (۱۱)

'Whose verse,' enquired Maḥmūd, 'is that, for it is one to inspire courage?' 'Poor Abu'l-Qāsim Firdawsī composed it,' answered the Minister; 'he who laboured for five and twenty years to complete such a work, and reaped from it no advantage.' 'You have done well,' said Maḥmūd, 'to remind me of this, for I deeply regret that this noble man was disappointed by me. Remind me at Ghazna to send him something.'

"So when the Minister returned to Ghazna, he reminded Maḥmūd, who ordered Firdawsī to be given sixty thousand *dinārs*<sup>2</sup> worth of indigo, and that this indigo should be carried to Tūs on the King's own camels, and that apologies should be made to Firdawsī. For years the Minister had been working for this, and at length he had achieved his work; so now he despatched the camels, and the indigo arrived safely at Ṭabarān<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Kāwja-i-Buzurg*. This was the title commonly given to Shamsu'l-Kuṭb Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan al-Maymandī. See n. 6 at the foot of p. 55 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Ṭabarān is the name of a portion of the city of Tūs. See B. de Meynard's *Diet. de la Perse*, pp. 374-375, and p. 54 *supra*, n. 3 *ad calc.*

But as the camels were entering through the Rúdbár Gate, the corpse of Firdawsí was being borne forth from the Gate of Razán<sup>1</sup>. Now at this time there was in Tabarân a preacher whose fanaticism was such that he declared that he would not suffer Firdawsí's body to be buried in the Musulmán Cemetery, because he was a Ráfiqá (Shí'a); and nothing that men could say served to move this doctor. Now within the Gate there was a garden belonging to Firdawsí, and there they buried him, and there he lies to this day." And in the year A.H. 510 (A.D. 1116-1117) I visited his tomb<sup>2</sup>.

They say that Firdawsí left a daughter, a very lofty spirit, to whom they would have given the King's gift, but she would not accept it, saying, "I need it not." The Post-master wrote to the Court and represented this to the King, who ordered that doctor to be expelled from Tabarân as a punishment for his officiousness, and to be exiled from his home, and the money to be given to the Imám Abú Bakr ibn Isháq-i-Kirámi<sup>3</sup> for the repair of the rest-house of Cháha, which stands on the road between Merv and Nishápúr on the boundaries of Tús. When this order reached Tús it was faithfully carried out; and the restoration of the rest-house of Cháha was effected by this money.

#### ANECDOTE XXI.

At the period when I was in the service of my Lord the King of the Mountains<sup>4</sup> (may God illuminate (or) his tomb and exalt his station in Paradise!), that august personage had a high opinion of me, and shewed himself a most generous patron towards me. Now on the Festival of the Breaking of the Fast one of the nobles of the city of Balkh (may God maintain its prosperity!), Amír 'Amíd Šafíyyu'd-Dín Abú Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Husayn Rawánsháhi, came to the Court. He was a young man, accomplished and highly esteemed, an expert writer, a qualified secretary of state, well endowed with culture and its fruits, popular with all, whose praises were on all tongues. And at this time I was not in attendance.

<sup>1</sup> See Nöldeke's new edition of his *Pers. Nationalepos*, p. 32, n. 2 *ad calc.* There are several places called *Rúdbár*, of which one situated near Tabarân is probably meant. See B. de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 266. A *Rasán* in Sistan is mentioned by al-Baládhuri (pp. 296-297), and another (ردان) in the district of Nasá in Khurásán (*Dict. de la Perse*, p. 259).

<sup>2</sup> I am not sure at what point the inverted commas should be inserted, but the last sentence of this paragraph is certainly Nizámi's.

<sup>3</sup> This divine, Abú Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isháq ibn Maḥmashád, was the head of the Kirámi sect at Nishápúr, and his biography is given in the *Ta'rikhu'l-Yamini* (ed. Cairo, pp. 2-23-24). The Kirámi sect inclined to anthropomorphism. A full account of their doctrines will be found in Shahrastáni's *Kutub-i-Milal wa'n-Nihál*.

<sup>4</sup> This, as already stated, was the title assumed by the kings of Ghúr generally, and by the first of them, Qutbu'd-Dín Muḥammad ibn 'Izzu'd-Dín Husayn, especially. He it was whose death was avenged by his brother Sultán 'Alí'u'd-Dín Jahan-sá in the sack of Ghazna, and who was our author's patron. See Note XV at the end.

Now at a reception the King chanced to say, "Call Nizámí." Said the Amír 'Amíd Safiyyu'd-Dín, "Is Nizámí here?" They answered "Yes." But he supposed that it was Nizámí-Munírí.<sup>1</sup> "Ah," said he, "a fine poet and a man of wide fame!" When the messenger arrived to summon me, I put on my shoes, and, as I entered, did obeisance, and sat down in my place. When the wine had gone round several times, Amír 'Amíd said, "Nizámí has not come." "He is come," replied the King; "see, he is seated over there." "I am not speaking of this Nizámí," answered Amír 'Amíd, "that Nizámí of whom I speak is another one, and as for this one, I do not even know him." Thereupon I saw that the King was vexed; he at once turned to me and said, "Is there somewhere else another Nizámí besides thee?" "Yes, Sire," I answered, "there are two other Nizámís, one of Samarqand, whom they call Nizámí-i-Munírí, and one of Nishápúr, whom they call Nizámí-i-Atífrí; while me they call Nizámí-i-'Arúdl." "Art thou better, or they?" demanded he. Then Amír 'Amíd perceived that he had made an unfortunate remark and that the King was annoyed. "Sire," said he, "those two Nizámís are quarrelsome fellows, apt to break up and spoil social gatherings by their quarrelsomeness." "Wait," said the King jestingly, "till you see this one drain five bumpers of strong wine<sup>2</sup> and break up the meeting: but of these three Nizámís which is the best poet?" "Of those two," said the Amír 'Amíd, "I have personal knowledge, having seen them, while this one I have not previously seen, nor have I heard his poetry. If he will compose a couple of verses on this subject which we have been discussing, so that I may see his talents and hear his verse, I will tell you which of these three is best."

Then the King turned to me, saying, "Now, O Nizámí, do not shame us, (or) and when thou speakest say what 'Amíd desires."

Now at that time, when I was in the service of this sovereign, I possessed a prolific talent and a brilliant genius, and the favours and gifts of the King had stimulated me to such a point that my improvisations came fluent as running water; so I took up a pen, and, ere the wine-cup had gone twice round, composed these five couplets:—

در جهان سه نظامیبر ای شاه ' که جهانی ز ما بافغانند  
من بورساد پیش تخت شهر ' و آن دو در مرو پیش سلطانند  
بحقیقت که در سخن امروز ' هر یکی مغر خراسانند

<sup>1</sup> The reading of this *nizba* is very doubtful in all three texts, both here and lower. In some it appears to read *Minbarí*.

<sup>2</sup> The correct reading, *si-yakl*, is that given in the text, not *sangl*, which most of the MSS. have. It is wine reduced by evaporation to one-third of its original bulk; in Arabic it is similarly called *sunthallath*. See the *Anjuman-dráyi-Náfirí*, *s.v.*

گرچه همچون روان سخن گویند، ورچه همچون خرد سخن دانند،  
من شرابم که شان چو در یابم، هر دو از کار خود فرو مانند

"We are three Nizâmîs in the world, O King, on account of whom a whole world is filled with outcry.  
I am at Warsâd<sup>1</sup> before the King's throne, while those two others are in Merv before the Sultan.  
To-day, in truth, in verse each one is the Pride of Khurâsân.  
Although they utter verse subtle as spirit, and although they understand the Art of Speech like Wisdom,  
I am the Wine, for, when I get hold of them, both desert from their work."

When I submitted these verses, the Amîr 'Amîd Safiyyu'd-Dîn bowed and said, "O King, let alone the Nizâmîs, I know of no poet in all Transoxiana, 'Irâq, or Khurâsân capable of improvising five such verses, more especially in respect of strength, energy, and sweetness, conjoined with such grace of diction and filled with ideas so original. Be of good cheer, O Nizâmî, for thou hast no peer on the face of the earth. O Sire, he hath a graceful wit, a mind strong in apprehension, and a finished art. The good fortune of the King of the age and his generosity (may God exalt them!) hath increased them, and he will become a unique genius, and will become even more than this, for he is young, and hath many days before him."

Thereat the countenance of my King and Lord brightened mightily; a great cheerfulness appeared in his gracious temperament, and he applauded me, saying, "I give thee the lead-mine of Warsâd from this Festival until the Festival of the Sheep-sacrifice<sup>2</sup>. Send an agent there." I did so, sending Ishâq the Jew. It was the middle of summer and the time of active work, and they melted much of the ore, so that in seventy days twelve thousand maunds of lead appertaining to the tithe<sup>3</sup> accrued to me, while the King's opinion of me was increased a thousand-fold. May God (blessed and exalted is He) illuminate his august ashes with the light of His approval and rejoice his noble soul by the accumulation of wealth, by His Favour and Grace!

<sup>1</sup> Warsâd or Warahâd was the residence of this king, Quṭb-u'd-Dîn Muḥammad, in Ghūr, as mentioned in the *Tabaqat-i-Nâsiri* (Raverty's translation, p. 339).

<sup>2</sup> I.e. from the end of Ramaḡân until the 10th of Dhū'l-Hijja, a period of two months and ten days.

<sup>3</sup> The exact meaning of this sentence is not clear even to the learned editor Mirzâ Muḥammad (p. 147 of the Persian notes). He suggests that our author, Nizâmî, was a Sayyid, or descendant of the Prophet, and that the *khums*, or fifth part of the profits, to which Sayyids are entitled, was in this case made over wholly to him. If this be the meaning, we should probably read *dar taḥṣîṣi khums* for *as du-i-khums*. An alternative conjecture is to read *bi-dûn-i-khums*, and to translate "not counting the *khums*," i.e. that the net profit, after deducting the *khums* or tithe, was 12,000 maunds of lead.

## (1) THIRD DISCOURSE.

*On the Lore of the Stars and the excellence of the Astronomer in that Science.*

Abú Rayhán al-Bīrūnī<sup>1</sup> says, in the first chapter of his "Explanation of the Science of Astronomy" (*Kitābū't-Tafhīm fi šindatī't-Tanjīm*):—"A man doth not merit the title of Astronomer until he hath attained proficiency in four sciences; first, Geometry; secondly, Arithmetic; thirdly, Cosmography; and fourthly, Judicial Astrology."

Now *Geometry* is that science whereby are known the dispositions of lines and the shapes of plane surfaces and solid bodies, the general relations existing between determinates and determinants, and the relation between them and what has position and form. Its principles are included in the book of Euclid the Geometrician<sup>2</sup> in the recension of Thābit ibn Qurra<sup>3</sup>.

*Arithmetic* is that science whereby are known the nature of all sorts of numbers, especially each species thereof in itself; the nature of their relation to one another; their generation from each other; and the applications thereof, such as halving, doubling, multiplication, division, addition, subtraction, and Algebra. The principles thereof are contained in the book of the Ἀριθμητική, and the applications in the "Supplement" (*Takmila*) of Abú Maṣṣūr of Baghdād<sup>4</sup>, and the "Hundred Chapters" (*Ṣad Bāb*) of as-Sajzī<sup>5</sup>.

*Cosmography* is that science whereby are known the nature of the Celestial and Terrestrial Bodies, their shapes and positions, their relations to one another, and the measurements and distances which are between them, together with the nature of the movements of the stars and heavens, and the co-ordination of the spheres and segments whereby these movements are fulfilled.

<sup>1</sup> The best account of this great scholar is that given by Dr Edward Sachau in the German Introduction to his edition of *al-Athārū'l-Bāqiya* (Leipzig, 1876), and, in a shorter form, in his English translation of the same (London, 1879). The substance of this is given by Mirzā Muḥammad on pp. 112-113 of the Persian notes. See Note XXIII at the end.

<sup>2</sup> This book was composed simultaneously in Arabic and Persian in A.H. 420 (A.D. 1029). There is a fine old MS. of the Persian version dated A.H. 685 (A.D. 1286), and bearing the class-mark Add. 7697, in the British Museum. See Ricu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 451-452.

<sup>3</sup> *Najjār*, literally, "the Carpenter."

<sup>4</sup> I take this to be the sense of *که ثابت بن قره دستی کرده است*. Concerning Thābit ibn Qurra, see Wüstenfeld's *Gesch. d. Arabischen Aerzte*, pp. 34-36; Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litteratur*, vol. i, pp. 217-218, etc. He was born in A.H. 221 (A.D. 836) and died in A.H. 288 (A.D. 901).

<sup>5</sup> Abú Maṣṣūr 'Abdū'l-Qāhir ibn Tāhir al-Baghdādī, d. A.H. 429 (A.D. 1037). See Hājjī Khalifa, No. 3253.

<sup>6</sup> Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdū'l-Jalīl as-Sajzī (or Sijzī, i.e. of Sajistān or Sistān). See Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 219, and Note XXIII at the end.

This science is contained in [Ptolemy's] *Almagest*, whereof the best commentaries (..) and elucidations are the Commentary of Nayrizi<sup>1</sup> and the *Almagest* in the *Shifā*. And amongst the applications of this science is the science of Astronomical Tables and Almanacs.

*Judicial Astrology* is a branch of Natural Science, and its special use is prognostication, by which is meant the deducing by analogy from the configurations of the stars in relation to one another, and from an estimation of their degrees in the zodiacal signs, the fulfilment of those events which are brought about by their movements, such as the conditions of the world-cycles, empires, kingdoms, cities, nativities, changes, transitions, decisions, and other questions. It is contained, as above defined by us, in the writings of Abū Ma'shar of Balkh<sup>2</sup>, Ahnād [ibn Muḥammad] ibn 'Abdu'l-Jalī-i-Sajzī<sup>3</sup>, Abū Rayḥān Bīrūnī<sup>4</sup>, and Kūshyār-i-Jīlī<sup>5</sup>.

So the astrologer must be a man of acute mind, approved character, and great natural intelligence, though apparently [some degree of] folly, madness and a gift for soothsaying are amongst the conditions and essentials of this branch [of the subject]. And the Astrologer who would pronounce prognostications must have the Part of the Unseen<sup>6</sup> in his own Ascendant, or in a position which stands well in relation to the Ascendant, while the Lord of the Mansion of the Part of the Unseen must be fortunate and in a favourable position, in order that such pronouncements as he gives may be near the truth. And one of the conditions of being a good astrologer is that he should know by heart the whole of the "Compendium of Principles" (*Mujma'ul-Uṣūl*) of Kūshyār<sup>7</sup>, and should continually study the "Opus Major"<sup>8</sup>, and should look frequently into the *Qānūn-i-Ma'sūdī*<sup>9</sup> and the *Jāmi'i-Shāhī*<sup>10</sup>, so that his knowledge and concepts may be refreshed.

<sup>1</sup> Abū'l-'Abbās al-Faḍl ibn Hātam of Nayriz (near Dārābjird in Fārs). He flourished in the latter half of the third century of the Flight (late ninth and early tenth of the Christian era).

<sup>2</sup> Presumably Avicenna's great philosophical work of this name is intended.

<sup>3</sup> See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, vol. i, pp. 222-223, pp. 19A-A of the Persian notes, and Note XXIII at the end.

<sup>4</sup> See n. 6 on p. 62 *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> See n. 1 on p. 62 *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> See *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223. Kiyā Abū'l-Ḥasan Kūshyār ibn Labbān ibn Bāshahri al-Jīlī (of Gilān) was a very notable astronomer who flourished in the second half of the fourth century of the Flight (tenth of the Christian era). A fine MS. of his *Muḥmal* (Add. 7490) exists in the British Museum. See also p. 1-1 of the Persian notes, and Note XXIII at the end.

<sup>7</sup> For this and other Astrological terms see Note XXIV at the end.

<sup>8</sup> *Kāf-i-Miḥtar* by Ḥasan ibn 'Uṭī-Khaṣīb, a notable astronomer of the second century of the Flight.

<sup>9</sup> Composed about A.D. 1031-6 for Sultān Ma'sūd, to whom it is dedicated, by al-Bīrūnī. A fine MS. transcribed at Baghdād in 570/1174-5 is described in Rien's *Arabic Supplement*, pp. 513-519.

<sup>10</sup> A collection of fifteen treatises by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Jalī as-Sajzī, a notable astronomer who flourished in the latter half of the tenth century of the Christian era. See p. 62 *supra*, n. 6 *ad calc.*

## ANECDOTE XXII.

Ya'qúb ibn Isháq al-Kindí<sup>1</sup>, though he was a Jew, was the philosopher of his age and the wisest man of his time, and stood high in the service of al-Ma'mún. One day he came in before al-Ma'mún, and sat down above one of the prelates of Islám. Said this man, "Thou art of a subject race; why then dost thou sit above the prelates of Islám?" "Because," said Ya'qúb, "I know what thou knowest, while thou knowest not what I know."

Now this prelate knew of his skill in Astrology, but had no knowledge of his other attainments in science. "I will write down," said he, "something on a piece of paper, and if thou canst divine what I have written, I will admit thy claim." Then they laid a wager, on the part of the prelate a cloak, and on the part of Ya'qúb (•) a mule and its trappings, worth a thousand *dinars*, which was standing at the door. Then the former asked for an inkstand and paper, wrote something on a piece of paper, placed it under the Caliph's quilt, and cried, "Out with it!" Ya'qúb ibn Isháq asked for a tray of earth, rose up, took the altitude, ascertained the Ascendant, drew an astrological figure on the tray of earth, determined the positions of the stars and located them in the Signs of the Zodiac, and fulfilled all the conditions of divination and thought-reading<sup>2</sup>. Then he said, "O Commander of the Faithful, on that paper he has written something which was first a plant and then an animal." Al-Ma'mún put his hand under the quilt and drew forth the paper, on which was written "The Rod of Moses." Ma'mún was filled with wonder, and the prelate expressed his astonishment. Then Ya'qúb took the cloak of his adversary, and cut it in two before al-Ma'mún, saying, "I will make it into two putties."

This matter became generally known in Baghdád, whence it spread to 'Iráq and Khurásán, and became widely diffused. A certain doctor of Balkh<sup>3</sup>, prompted by that fanatical zeal which characterises the learned, took a knife and placed it in the middle of a book on Astrology, intending to go to Baghdád, attend the lectures of Ya'qúb ibn Isháq al-Kindí, make a beginning in Astrology, and, when he should find a suitable opportunity, suddenly kill him. Stage by stage he advanced in this resolve, until he reached Baghdád, went in to the hot bath and came out, arrayed himself in clean clothes, and, placing the book in his sleeve, set out for Ya'qúb's house.

<sup>1</sup> See Wüstenfeld's *Gesch. d. Arab. Aerzte*, pp. 21-22. He died about A.H. 260 (A.D. 873). The author's assertion that the celebrated al-Kindí, called *par excellence* "the Philosopher of the Arabs," was a Jew, is, as the Editor has pointed out (Persian notes, pp. 1. 1-2. 1), so absurd as to go near to discrediting the whole story.

<sup>2</sup> *A'ady* means guessing the nature of a hidden object and *qamir* of a hidden thought, according to al-Biróni's *Ta'rif*. See Note XXIV at the end.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* Abú Ma'shar, as appears from the conclusion of the story.

When he reached the gate of the house, he saw standing there many handsomely-caparisoned horses belonging to descendants of the Prophet<sup>1</sup> and other eminent and notable persons of Baghdád. Having made enquiries, he went in, entered the circle in front of Ya'qúb, greeted him, and said, "I desire to study somewhat of the Science of the Stars with our Master." "Thou hast come from the East to slay me, not to study Astrology," replied Ya'qúb, "but thou wilt repent of thine intention, study the Stars, attain perfection in that science, and become one of the greatest Astrologers amongst the People of Muḥammad (on whom be God's Blessing and Peace)." All the great men there assembled were astonished at these words; and Abú Ma'shar<sup>2</sup> confessed and produced the knife from the middle of the book, broke it, and cast it away. Then he bent his knees and studied for fifteen years, until he attained in Astrology that eminence which was his. (v)

#### ANECDOTE XXIII.

It is related that once when *Yamínú'd-Dawla* Sultán Maḥmúd ibn Násiru'd-Dín<sup>3</sup> was sitting on the roof of a four-doored summer-house in Ghazna, in the Garden of a Thousand Trees, he turned his face to Abú Rayḥán<sup>4</sup> and said, "By which of these four doors shall I go out?" (for all four were practicable). "Decide and write the decision on a piece of paper, and put it under my quilt." Abú Rayḥán called for an astrolabe, took the altitude, determined the Ascendant, reflected for a while, and then wrote down his decision on a piece of paper, and placed it under the quilt. "Hast thou decided?" asked Maḥmúd. He answered, "I have."

Then Maḥmúd bade them bring a navvy with pick-axe and spade, and in the wall which was on the eastern side they dug out a fifth door, through which he went out. Then he bade them bring the paper. So they brought it, and on it Abú Rayḥán had written, "He will go out through none of these four doors, but they will dig a fifth door in the eastern wall, by which door he will go forth." Maḥmúd, on reading this, was furious, and bade them cast Abú Rayḥán down in the midst of the palace, and so they did. Now there was stretched a net from the middle floor, and on it Abú Rayḥán fell. The net tore, and he subsided gently to the ground, so that he received no injury. "Bring him in," said Maḥmúd. So they brought him in, and Maḥmúd said, "O Abú Rayḥán, at all events thou didst not know about this event!"

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "of the Band Hāshim."

<sup>2</sup> See n. 3 on p. 63 *supra* and Note XXIII at the end.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the great Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna (reigned A.H. 388-421, A.D. 998-1030).

<sup>4</sup> Al-Birúní. See n. 1 on p. 63 *supra*, and Note XXIII at the end.



"I knew it, Sire," answered he. Said Maḥmūd, "Where is the proof?" So Abū Rayḥān called for his servant, took the Almanac from him, and produced the prognostications out of the Almanac; and amongst the predictions of that day was written:—"To-day they will cast me down from a high place, but I shall reach the earth in safety, and arise sound in body."

All this was not according to Maḥmūd's mind. He waxed still angrier, and ordered Abū Rayḥān to be detained in the citadel. So Abū Rayḥān was confined in the citadel of Ghazna, where he remained for six months.

#### ANECDOTE XXIV.

It is said that during that period of six months none dared speak to Maḥmūd about Abū Rayḥān; (••) but one of his servants was deputed to wait upon him, and go out to get what he wanted, and return therewith. One day this servant was passing through the Park (*Marḡhadr*) of Ghazna when a fortune-teller called him and said, "I perceive several things worth mentioning in your fortune: give me a present, that I may reveal them to you." The servant gave him two *dirhams*, whereupon the Sooth-sayer said, "One dear to thee is in affliction, but ere three days are past he will be delivered from that affliction, will be invested with a robe of honour and mark of favour, and will again become distinguished and ennobled."

The servant proceeded to the citadel and told this incident to his master as a piece of good tidings. Abū Rayḥān laughed and said, "O foolish fellow, dost thou not know that one ought not to loiter in such places? Thou hast wasted two *dirhams*." It is said that the Prime Minister Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan of Maymand (may God be merciful to him!) was for six months seeking an opportunity to say a word on behalf of Abū Rayḥān. At length, when engaged in the chase, he found the King in a good humour, and, working from one topic to another, he brought the conversation round to Astrology. Then he said, "Poor Abū Rayḥān uttered two such good prognostications, and, instead of decorations and a robe of honour, earned only bonds and imprisonment." "Know, my lord," replied Maḥmūd, "for I have discovered it, and all men admit it, that this man has no equal in the world save Abū 'Alī [ibn] Sīnā (Avicenna). But both his prognostications were opposed to my will; and kings are like little children; in order to receive rewards from them, one should speak in accordance with their views. It would have been better for him on that day if one of those two prognostications had been wrong. But to-morrow order him to be brought forth, and to be given a horse caparisoned with gold, a royal robe, a satin turban, a thousand *dīnārs*, a boy slave and a handmaiden."

So, on the very day specified by the sooth-sayer, they brought forth Abú Rayhán, and the gift of honour detailed above was conferred upon him, and the King apologized to him, saying, "O Abú Rayhán, if thou desirest to reap advantage from me, speak according to my desire, not according to the dictates of thy science." So thereafter Abú Rayhán altered his practice; and this is one of the conditions of the king's service, that one must be with him in right or wrong, and speak according to his wish<sup>1</sup>.

Now when Abú Rayhán went to his house and the learned came to congratulate him, he related to them the incident of the sooth-sayer, whereat they were amazed, and went to summon him. They found him quite illiterate, knowing nothing. Then Abú Rayhán said, "Hast thou the horoscope of thy nativity?" "I have," he replied. Then he brought the horoscope and Abú Rayhán examined it, and the Part of the Unseen fell directly on the degree of his Ascendant, so that whatever he said, though he spoke blindly, came near to the truth.

#### ANECDOTE XXV.

I had in my employment a woman-servant, who was born on the 28th of Šafar, A.H. 511<sup>2</sup> (July 1st, A.D. 1117), when the Moon was in conjunction with the Sun and there was no distance between them, so that in consequence of this the Part of Fortune and the Part of the Unseen both fell on the degree of the Ascendant. When she reached the age of fifteen years, I taught her Astrology, in which she became so skilful that she could answer difficult questions in this science, and her prognostications came mighty near the truth. Ladies used to come to her and question her, and the most part of what she said coincided with the pre-ordained decrees of Fate.

One day an old woman came to her and said, "It is now four years since a son of mine went on a journey and I have no news of him, neither of his life nor of his death. See whether he is of the living or the dead, and wherever he is acquaint me with his condition." So the woman-astrologer arose, took the altitude, worked out the degree of the Ascendant, drew out an astrological figure, and determined the positions of the stars; and the very first words she said were, "Thy son hath returned!"

The old woman was annoyed and said, "O child, I have no hopes of his coming: tell me this much, is he alive or dead?"

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Gulistán*, ed. Platts, p. 40, last two lines.

<sup>2</sup> A. and B. have "512," and L. "510." Although the text has عَجُوزَه, "an old woman," I have substituted "a woman-servant" as more appropriate, for since she was born in A.H. 511 and the *Chahár Maqála* was composed about A.H. 551 or 552, she can only have been at most about forty years of age, even if the incident described took place shortly before it was here recorded.

"I tell you," said the other, "thy son hath come. Go, and if he hath not come, return that I may tell thee how he is."

So the old woman went to her house, and lo, her son had arrived and they were unloading his ass. She embraced him, took two veils, and brought them to the woman-astrologer, saying, "Thou didst speak truly; my son hath come," and gave her a blessing with her present. When I came home and heard tidings of this, I enquired of her, "By what indication didst thou speak, and from what house didst thou deduce this prognostication?" She answered, "I had not reached so far as this. When I had finished the figure of the Ascendant, (1.) a fly came and settled on the number of the degree of the Ascendant, wherefore it so seemed in my mind that this young man had returned. When I had thus spoken, and the mother had gone to find out, it became as certain to me that he had come as though I actually saw him unloading his ass."

Then I perceived that it was the Part of the Unseen which had effected all this on the degree of the Ascendant, and that this [success of hers] arose from nothing else but this.

#### ANECDOTE XXVI.

Mahmūd Dā'ūdī, the son of Abu'l-Qāsim Dā'ūdī, was a great fool, nay, almost a madman, and had no great amount of knowledge of the stars; though of astrological operations he could cast a nativity, and in his note-book were figures, declaring "it is" or "it is not." He was in the service of Amīr-Dād Abū Bakr ibn Mas'ūd at Panj-dih; and his prognostications mostly came nearly right.

Now his madness was such that when my master the King of the Mountains<sup>1</sup> sent Amīr-Dād a pair of Ghūrī dogs, very large and formidable, he fought with them of his own free will, and escaped from them in safety. Years afterwards we were sitting with a number of persons of learning in the Druggists' Bāzār at Herāt, in the shop of Muqrī the surgeon-barber, and discussing all manner of subjects. One of these learned men happening to remark, "What a great man was Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā)!" I saw Dā'ūdī fly into such a passion that the veins of his neck became hard and prominent, and all the symptoms of anger appeared in him, and he cried, "O So-and-so, who was Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā? I am worth a thousand Abū 'Alīs, for he never even fought with a cat, whilst I fought before Amīr-Dād with two Ghūrī dogs." So on that day I knew him to be mad; yet for all his madness, I witnessed the following occurrence.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* Qaṣṣū'd-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Izzū'd-Dīn Husayn, the first king of the Ghūrī dynasty, poisoned by Bahram Shāh. See Note I at the end.

In the year A.H. 508 (A.D. 1114-1115), when Sultān Sanjar encamped in the Plain of Khúzān<sup>1</sup>, on his way to Transoxiana to fight with Muḥammad Khān<sup>2</sup>, Amīr-Dād made a mighty great entertainment for the King at Panj-dih. On the third day he came to the river-brink, and entered a boat to amuse himself (11) with fishing. In the boat he summoned Dā'ūdī before him to talk in that mad way of his, while he laughed, for Dā'ūdī would openly abuse Amīr-Dād.

Presently the King said to Dā'ūdī, "Prognosticate how many maunds the fish which I shall catch this time will weigh." Dā'ūdī said, "Draw up your hook." So the King drew it up; and he took the altitude, paused for a while, and then said, "Now cast it." The King cast, and he said, "I prognosticate that this fish which you will draw out will weigh five maunds." "O knave," said Amīr-Dād, "whence should fish of five maunds' weight come into this stream?" "Be silent," said Dā'ūdī; "what do you know about it?" So Amīr-Dād was silent, fearing that, should he insist further, he would only get abuse.

After a while there was a pull on the line, indicating that a fish had been taken captive. The King drew in the line with a very large fish on it, which, when weighed, scaled six<sup>3</sup> maunds. All were amazed, and the King of the World expressed his astonishment, for which, indeed, there was good occasion. "Dā'ūdī," said the King, "what dost thou wish for?" "O King of the face of the Earth," said he with an obeisance, "I desire but a coat of mail, a shield and a spear, that I may do battle with Bāwardī." And this Bāwardī was an officer attached to Amīr-Dād's Court, and Dā'ūdī entertained towards him a fanatical hatred, because the title of *Shujā'u'l-Mulk* ("the Champion of the Kingdom") had been conferred on him, while Dā'ūdī himself bore the title of *Shujā'u'l-Hukamā* ("the Champion of the Philosophers"), and grudged that the other should also be entitled *Shujā'*. And Amīr-Dād, well knowing this, used continually to embroil Dā'ūdī with him, and this good Musulmán was at his wit's end by reason of him.

In short, as to Maḥmūd Dā'ūdī's madness there was no doubt, and I have mentioned this matter in order that the King may know that as regards astrological predictions folly and insanity are amongst the conditions of this craft.

<sup>1</sup> See Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, pp. 215-216.

<sup>2</sup> The person meant is Muḥammad Khān (known as Arslān Khān) ibn Sulaymān ibn Dā'ūd ibn Bughrā Khān of the Khānīyya dynasty. The event alluded to in the text took place in A.H. 507 (A.D. 1113-1114).

<sup>3</sup> L. has "five," which corresponds better with the prognostication, but the MS. authority is in favour of the reading here adopted.

## ANECDOTE XXVII.

Hakím-i-Mawṣilí was one of the order of Astrologers in Níshápúr, and was in the service of that Great Minister Nizámu'l-Mulk of Túṣ, who used to consult with him on matters of importance, and seek his advice (۱۲) and opinion. Now when Mawṣilí's years were drawing to a close, and failure of his faculties began to manifest itself, and feebleness of body began to appear, so that he was no longer able to perform these long journeys, he asked the Minister's permission to go and reside at Níshápúr, and to send thence, annually, an almanac and forecast for the year.

Now the Minister Nizámu'l-Mulk was also in the decline of life and near the term of existence; and he said, "Calculate the march of events and see when the dissolution of my elemental nature will occur, and at what date that inevitable doom and unavoidable sentence will befall."

Hakím-i-Mawṣilí answered, "Six months after my death." So the Minister bestowed on him in increased measure all things needful for his comfort, and Mawṣilí went to Níshápúr, and there abode in ease, sending each year the forecast and calendar. And whenever anyone came to the Minister from Níshápúr, he used first to enquire, "How is Mawṣilí?" and so soon as he had ascertained that he was alive and well, he would become joyous and cheerful.

At length in the year A.H. 485 (A.D. 1092-3) one arrived from Níshápúr, and the Minister enquired of him concerning Mawṣilí. The man replied, with an obeisance, "May he who holdeth the chief seat in Islám be the heir of many life-times! Mawṣilí hath quitted this mortal body." "When?" enquired the Minister. "In the middle of Rabí' the First" (April 11—May 11, A.D. 1092), answered the man, "he yielded up his life for him who sitteth in the chief seat of Islám."

The Minister thereat was mightily put about; yet, being thus warned, he looked into all his affairs, confirmed all his pious endowments, gave effect to his bequests, wrote his last testament, set free such of his slaves as had earned his approval, discharged the debts which he owed, and, so far as lay in his power, made all men content with him, and sought forgiveness from his adversaries, and so sat awaiting his fate until the month of Ramaḍán (A.H. 485 = Oct. 5—Nov. 4, A.D. 1092), when he fell a martyr at Baghdád<sup>1</sup> at the hands of that Sect (*i.e.* the Assassins); may God make illustrious his Proof, and accord him an ample approval!

<sup>1</sup> This is an error of the author's, for the evidence that Nizámu'l-Mulk was assassinated at Niháwand is overwhelming.

Since the observed Ascendant of the nativity, the Lord of the House, and the dominant influence (*haylāj*) were rightly determined, and the Astrologer was expert and accomplished, naturally the prognostication came true<sup>1</sup>. *And He [God] knoweth best.*

# ANECDOTE XXVIII.

In the year A.H. 506 (A.D. 1112-1113) Khwāja Imām 'Umar-i-Khayyāmi<sup>2</sup> and Khwāja Imām Muzaffar-i-Isfizarī<sup>3</sup> had alighted in the city of Balkh, in the Street of the Slave-sellers, in the house of Amīr (۱۶) Abū Sa'd Jarrah, and I had joined that assembly. In the midst of our convivial gathering I heard that Argument of Truth (*Hujjatul-Haqq*) 'Umar say, "My grave will be in a spot where the trees will shed their blossoms on me twice a year<sup>4</sup>." This thing seemed to me impossible, though I knew that one such as he would not speak idle words.

When I arrived at Nishāpūr in the year A.H. 530 (A.D. 1135-6), it being then four<sup>5</sup> years since that great man had veiled his countenance in the dust, and this nether world had been bereaved of him, I went to visit his grave on the eve of a Friday (seeing that he had the claim of a master on me), taking with me one to point out to me his tomb. So he brought me out to the Hīra<sup>6</sup> Cemetery; I turned to the left, and found his tomb situated at the foot of a garden-wall, over which pear-trees and peach-trees thrust their heads, and on his grave had fallen so many flower-leaves that his dust was hidden beneath the flowers. Then I remembered that saying which I had heard from him in the city of Balkh, and I fell to weeping, because on the face of the earth, and in all the regions of the habitable globe, I nowhere saw one like unto him. May God (blessed and exalted is He!) have mercy

<sup>1</sup> I confess that these astrological terms are beyond me. Several of them (e.g. *haylāj* and *hadkhudd*) are explained in the section of the *Mafātihul-'ulum* which treats of Astrology (ed. van Vloten, pp. 225-232). See, however, Note XXIV at the end.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. have *Khayyāmī*, the form usually found in Arabic books. See Note XXV at the end.

<sup>3</sup> A notable astronomer who collaborated with 'Umar-i-Khayyām and others in A.H. 467 (A.D. 1074-1075) in the computation of the Jalālī era by command of Malikshāh. Ibnul-'Athīr mentions him under the above year by the name of Abul-Muzaffar al-Isfizarī.

<sup>4</sup> The editor of the text has adopted the reading of the Constantinople MS., "every spring-tide the north wind will scatter blossoms on me," but the reading here adopted seems to me preferable, for there would be nothing remarkable in the grave being covered with fallen blossoms *once* a year; what was remarkable was that it should happen *twice*.

<sup>5</sup> The Constantinople MS., which is the oldest and most reliable, alone has this reading, the others having "some years." If "four" be correct, it follows that 'Umar-i-Khayyām died in A.H. 526 (A.D. 1132) and not, as stated by most authorities, in A.H. 515 (A.D. 1121-1122) or 517 (A.D. 1123-1124).

<sup>6</sup> Hīra, according to as-Sam'āni and Yāqūt, was a large and well-known quarter lying outside Nishāpūr on the road to Merv.

upon him<sup>1</sup>, by His Grace and His Favour!<sup>2</sup> Yet although I witnessed this prognostication on the part of that Proof of the Truth 'Umar, I did not observe that he had any great belief in astrological predictions; nor have I seen or heard of any of the great [scientists] who had such belief.

#### ANECDOTE XXIX.

In the winter of the year A.H. 508 (A.D. 1114-1115) the King sent a messenger to Merv to the Prime Minister Šadrū'd-Dīn [Abū Ja'far] Muḥammad ibn al-Muẓaffar<sup>3</sup> (on whom be God's Mercy) bidding him tell Khwāja Imām 'Umar to select a favourable time for him to go hunting, such that therein should be no snowy or rainy days. For Khwāja Imām 'Umar was in the Minister's company, and used to lodge at his house.

The Minister, therefore, sent a messenger to summon him, and told him what had happened. So he went and looked into the matter for two days, and made a careful choice; and he himself went and superintended the mounting of the King at the auspicious moment. When the King was mounted and had gone but a short distance<sup>4</sup>, the sky became over-cast with clouds, a wind arose, and snow and mist supervened. All present fell to laughing, and the King desired to turn back; but Khwāja Imām ['Umar] said, "Let the King be of good cheer, for this very hour the clouds will clear away, and during these five days there will not be a drop of moisture." So the King rode on, and the clouds opened, and during those five days there was no moisture, and no one saw a cloud.

But prognostication by the stars, though a recognized art, is not to be relied on, nor should the astronomer have any far-reaching faith therein; and whatever the astrologer predicts he must leave to Fate.

#### ANECDOTE XXX.

It is incumbent on the King, wherever he goes, to prove such companions and servants as he has with him; and if one is a believer in the Holy Law, and scrupulously observes the rites and duties thereof, he should make him an intimate, and treat

<sup>1</sup> A. and C. have—"cause him to dwell in Paradise."

<sup>2</sup> In the printed text "Anecdote XXIX" begins here with the following sentence, which is omitted in the Tehran lithographed edition.

<sup>3</sup> He was the grandson of the great Nizāmū'l-Mulk. His father, Fakhrū'l-Mulk Abū'l-Faṭḥ al-Muẓaffar, was put to death by Sulṭān Sanjar, whose Minister he was, in A.H. 500 (A.D. 1106-1107). Šadrū'd-Dīn himself was murdered by one of Sanjar's servants in A.H. 511 (A.D. 1117-1118).

<sup>4</sup> I suppose this to be the meaning of the words:—و يك بانگ زمين برآفت, which is the reading of all the texts. It perhaps means the distance which the human voice will carry when raised to its highest pitch.

him with honour and confide in him; but if otherwise, he should drive him away, and guard even the outskirts of his environment from his very shadow. Whoever does not believe in the religion of God (great and glorious is He!) and the law of Muḥammad the Chosen One, in him can no man trust, and he is unlucky, both to himself and to his master.

In the beginning of the reign of the King Sulṭān *Ghiyāthū'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn* Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh, styled *Qasīmū Amīrī'l-Mūminīn* (may God illuminate his tomb)<sup>1</sup>, the King of the Arabs Ṣadaqa<sup>2</sup> revolted and withdrew his neck from the yoke of allegiance, and with fifty thousand Arabs marched on Baghdād from Hilla<sup>3</sup>. The Prince of Believers al-Mustaẓhir bi'llāh had sent off letter after letter and courier after courier to Isfahān, summoning the Sulṭān, who sought from the astrologers the determination of the auspicious moment. But no such determination could be made which would suit the Lord of the King's Ascendant, which was retrograde. So they said, "O Sire, we find no auspicious moment." "Seek it, then," said he; and he was very urgent in the matter, and much vexed in mind. And so the astrologers fled.

Now there was a man of Ghazna who had a shop in the Street of the Dome and who used to practise sooth-saying, and women used to visit him, and he used to write them love-charms, but he had no profound knowledge. By means of an acquaintance with one of the King's servants he brought himself to the King's notice, and said, "I will find an auspicious moment; depart in that, and if (۱۰) thou dost not return victorious, then cut off my head."

So the King was pleased, and mounted his horse at the moment declared auspicious by him, and gave him two hundred *dīndrs* of Nīshāpūr, and went forth, fought with Ṣadaqa, defeated his army, took him captive, and put him to death. And when he returned triumphant and victorious to Isfahān, he heaped favours on the sooth-sayer, conferred on him great honours, and made him one of his intimates. Then he summoned the astrologers and said, "You did not find an auspicious moment, it was this Ghaznawī who found it; and I went, and God justified his forecast. Wherefore did ye act thus? Probably Ṣadaqa had sent you a bribe so that you should not name the auspicious time." Then they all fell to the earth, lamenting and exclaiming, "No astrologer was satisfied with that choice. If you wish, write a message

<sup>1</sup> Reigned A.H. 498-511 (A.D. 1104-1117).

<sup>2</sup> For an account of this event and the doings of Ṣadaqa ibn Mazyad, the "King of the Arabs" here mentioned, see Ibnū'l-Athīr's *Chronicle sub anno* A.H. 501 (A.D. 1107-1108).

<sup>3</sup> This is an error, for Ṣadaqa never attacked Baghdād nor quarrelled with the Caliph al-Mustaẓhir bi'llāh, his quarrel being with Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh.



and send it to Khurásán, and see what Khwāja Imám 'Umar-i-Khayyámí says."

The King saw that the poor wretches did not speak amiss. He therefore summoned one of his accomplished courtiers and said, "Hold a wine-party at your house to-morrow. Invite this astrologer of Ghazna, give him wine, and, when he is overcome with wine, enquire of him, saying, 'That moment determined by thee was not good, and the astrologers find fault with it. Tell me the secret of this.'"

Then the courtier did so, and, when his guest was drunk, made this enquiry of him. The Ghaznawí answered, "I knew that one of two things must happen; either that army would be defeated, or this one. If the former, then I should be loaded with honours; and if the latter, who would concern himself about me?"

Next day the courtier reported this conversation to the King, who ordered the Ghaznawí sooth-sayer to be expelled, saying, "Such a man holding such views about good Musulmán is unlucky." Then he summoned his own astrologers and restored his confidence to them, saying, "I myself held this sooth-sayer to be an enemy, because he never said his prayers, and one who agrees not with our Holy Law, agrees not with us."

#### ANECDOTE XXXI.

In the year A.H. 547 (A.D. 1152-3)<sup>1</sup> a battle was fought between the King of the World Sanjar ibn (۱۱) Maliksháh and my lord the King 'Alá'u'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín at the Gates of Awba<sup>2</sup>; and the army of Ghúr was defeated, and my lord the King of the East (may God perpetuate his reign!) was taken prisoner, and my lord's son the Just King *Shamsu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín* Muhammad ibn Mas'úd<sup>3</sup> was taken captive at the hands of the Commander-in-Chief (*Amir-i-sipahsáldár*) Yaranqush Haríwa. The ransom was fixed at fifty thousand *dinárs*, and a messenger from him was to go to the court at Bámiyán to press for this sum; and when it reached Herát the Prince was to be released, being already accorded his liberty by the Lord of the World (Sanjar)<sup>4</sup>, who, moreover, at the time of his departure from Herát, granted him a robe of honour. It was under these circumstances that I arrived to wait upon him.

<sup>1</sup> A. adds:—"they killed him, and...."

<sup>2</sup> This is the correct date, but the *Ta'rikh-i-Gusida* gives A.H. 546 (A.D. 1150-1151).

<sup>3</sup> A village near Herát.

<sup>4</sup> The second of the Kings of Shansab or Ghúr who ruled over Bámiyán, and the son of Fakhr'u'd-Dín Mas'úd. See p. ۱۱ of the Persian notes and Note I at the end.

<sup>5</sup> The meaning appears to be that a ransom was demanded by the Amir Yaranqush, the Prince's actual captor, but not by his over-lord Sanjar.

One day, being extremely sad at heart, he signed to me, and enquired when this deliverance would finally be accomplished, and when this consignment would arrive. So I took an observation that day with a view to making this prognostication, and worked out the Ascendant, exerting myself to the utmost, and [ascertained that] there was an indication of a satisfactory solution to the question on the third day. So next day I came and said, "To-morrow at the time of the afternoon prayer the messenger will arrive." All that day the Prince was thinking about this matter. Next day I hastened to wait on him. "To-day," said he, "is the time fixed." "Yes," I replied; and continued in attendance on him till the afternoon prayer. When the call to prayer was sounded, he remarked reproachfully, "The afternoon prayer has arrived, but still no news!" Even while he was thus speaking, a courier arrived bringing the good tidings that the consignment had come, consisting of fifty thousand *dinārs*, sheep, and other things, and that 'Izzu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Hājji, the steward of Prince Husāmu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dīn, was in charge of the convoy. Next day my lord Shamsu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dīn was invested with the King's dress of honour, and released. Shortly afterwards he regained his beloved home, and from that time onwards his affairs have prospered more and more every day (may they continue so to do!). And it was during these nights that he used to treat me with the utmost kindness and say, "Nizāmī, do you remember making such a prognostication in Herāt, and how it came true? I wanted to fill thy mouth with gold, but there I had no gold, though here I have." Then he called for gold, and twice filled my mouth therewith. Then he said, "It will not hold enough; hold out thy sleeve." (۱۷) So I held it out, and he filled it also with gold. May God (blessed and exalted is He!) maintain this dynasty in daily-increasing prosperity, and long spare these two Princes to my august and royal Master, by His Favour, Bounty and Grace!

(۱۸) FOURTH DISCOURSE.

*On the Science of Medicine, and the right direction  
of the Physician.*

Medicine is that art whereby health is maintained in the human body; whereby, when it wanes, it is restored; and whereby the body is embellished by long hair, a clear complexion, fragrance and vigour<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The ordinary definition of Medicine ends at the word "restored," but the whole of Book VIII of the *Dhakhira-i-Khudraunshahi* deals with the care of the hair, nails, complexion, etc.

## [Excursus.]

The physician should be of tender disposition and wise nature, excelling in acumen, this being a nimbleness of mind in forming correct views, that is to say a rapid transition to the unknown from the known. And no physician can be of tender disposition if he fails to recognize the nobility of the human soul; nor of wise nature unless he is acquainted with Logic, nor can he excel in acumen unless he be strengthened by God's aid; and he who is not acute in conjecture will not arrive at a correct understanding of any ailment, for he must derive his indications from the pulse, which has a systole, a diastole, and a pause intervening between these two movements<sup>1</sup>.

Now here there is a difference of opinion amongst physicians, one school maintaining that it is impossible by palpation to gauge the movement of contraction; but that most accomplished of the moderns, that Proof of the Truth Abū 'Alī al-Husayn ibn 'Abdu'llāh ibn Sīnā (Avicenna)<sup>2</sup>, says in his book the *Qānūn*<sup>3</sup> that the movement of contraction also can be gauged, though with difficulty, in thin subjects. Moreover the pulse is of ten sorts, each of which is divided into three subordinate varieties, namely its two extremes and its mean; but, unless the Divine guidance assist the physician in his search for the truth, his thought will not hit the mark. So also in the inspection of the urine, the observing of its colours and sediments, and the deducing of some special condition from each colour (١١) are no easy matters; for all these indications depend on Divine help and Royal patronage. This quality [of discernment] is that which we have indicated under the name of acumen. And unless the physician knows Logic, and understands the meaning of genus and species, he cannot discriminate between that which appertains to the category, that which is peculiar to the individual, and that which is accidental, and so will not recognize the cause [of the disease]. And, failing to recognize the cause, he cannot succeed in his treatment. But let us now give an illustration, so that it may be known that it is as we say. Disease is the genus; fever, headache, cold, delirium, measles and jaundice are the species, each of which is distinguished from the others by a diagnostic sign, and in turn itself constitutes a genus. For example, "Fever" is the genus, wherein quotidian, tertian, double tertian and quartan are the

<sup>1</sup> Some notes on the varieties of pulse recognized by the Arabian physicians will be found in Note XXVI at the end.

<sup>2</sup> See de Slane's translation of *Ibn K'hallikān*, vol. i, pp. 440-446; von Kremer's *Culturgegeschichte d. Orients*, vol. ii, pp. 455-456; Wüstenfeld's *Gesch. d. Arab. Aerzte*, pp. 64-75; and Note XXVII, No. 10, at the end.

<sup>3</sup> The *Qānūn* was printed at Rome, A.D. 1593, and the Latin translation at Venice in A.D. 1544. According to Steinschneider, Gerard of Cremona's Latin translation was printed more than thirty times, and fifteen times before A.D. 1500.

species, each of which is distinguished from the other by a special diagnostic sign. Thus, for instance, quotidian is distinguished from other fevers by the fact that the longest period thereof is a day and a night, and that in it there is no languor<sup>1</sup>, heaviness, lassitude, nor pain. Again inflammatory fever<sup>2</sup> is distinguished from other fevers by the fact that when it attacks it does not abate for several days; while tertian is distinguished by the fact that it comes one day and not the next; and double tertian by this, that one day it comes with a higher temperature and a shorter interval, and another day in a milder form with a longer interval; while lastly quartan is distinguished by the fact that it attacks one day, does not recur on the second and third days, but comes again on the fourth. Each of these in turn becomes a genus comprising several species; and if the physician be versed in Logic and possessed of acumen and knows which fever it is, what the *materies morbi*<sup>3</sup> is, and whether it is simple or compound, he can then at once proceed to treat it. But if he fail to recognize the disease, then let him turn to God and seek help from Him; and so likewise, if he fail in his treatment, let him have recourse to God and seek help from Him, seeing that all issues are in His hands.

#### ANECDOTE XXXII.

In the year A.H. 512 (A.D. 1118-19), in the Druggist's Bazaar of Nishápúr, at the shop of Muhammad (v.) ibn Muhammad the Astrologer-Physician<sup>4</sup>, I heard Khwája Imám Abú Bakr Daqqáq saying, "In the year A.H. 502 (A.D. 1108-9) a certain notable man of Nishápúr was seized with the colic and called me in. I examined him, and proceeded to treat him, trying every remedy suggested in this malady; but no improvement in his health took place. Three days elapsed. At the time of evening prayer I returned in despair, convinced that the patient would pass away at midnight. In this distress I fell asleep. In the morning I awoke, not doubting that he had passed away. I went up on to the roof, and turned my face in that direction to listen, but heard no sound [of lamentation] which might indicate his decease. I repeated the *Fātiha*, breathing it in that direction and adding, 'O my God, my Master and my Lord, Thou Thyself hast said in the Sure Book and Indubitable Scripture, "And we will send

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps "languor" is hardly strong enough. The original is *lakazur*, literally "contrition," "being broken to pieces."

<sup>2</sup> *تب مطبقه*. See Schlímmér's *Terminologie Médico-Pharmaceutique* (lithographed at Tíhrán, A.D. 1874), pp. 191-197 and 183. Perhaps, however, it should here be translated "remittent" or even "continuous." See Note XXVI at the end.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* whether it be primary or secondary, from which of the four humours it arises, etc.

<sup>4</sup> The readings vary, A. has محمد ضحمر; B. محمد صحر; L. ضحمر only. The reading adopted in the text is no doubt correct.

down in the *Qur'an* what shall be a Healing and a Mercy to true believers<sup>1</sup>." For I was filled with regret, seeing that, he was a young man, and wealthy, and in easy circumstances, and had all things needful for a pleasant life. Then I performed the minor ablution, went to the oratory<sup>2</sup> and acquitted myself of the customary prayer<sup>3</sup>. One knocked at the door of the house. I looked and saw that it was one of his people, who gave good tidings, saying, 'Open!' I enquired what had happened, and he replied, 'This very hour he obtained relief.' Then I knew that this was through the blessing of the *Fatīha* of the Scripture, and that this draught had been issued from the Divine Dispensary. For I have put this to the proof, administering this draught in many cases, in all of which it proved beneficial, and resulted in restoration to health." Therefore the physician should be of good faith, and should venerate the commands and prohibitions of the Holy Law. \*

On the Science of Medicine the student should procure and read the "Aphorisms" (*Fuṣūṭ*) of Hippocrates, the "Questions" (*Masā'il*) of Hunayn ibn Ishāq<sup>4</sup>, the "Guide" (*Murshid*) of Muhammad ibn Zakariyyā of Ray (ar-Rāzī)<sup>5</sup>, and the Commentary of Nīlī<sup>6</sup>, who has made abstracts of these. After he has carefully read [these works] with a kind and congenial master, he should diligently study with a sympathetic teacher the following intermediate works, to wit, the "Thesaurus" (*Dhakhira*) of Thābit ibn Qurra<sup>7</sup>, the [*Kitābu't-tibbī'l-*] *Manṣūrī* of Muhammad ibn Zakariyyā of Ray<sup>8</sup>; the "Direction" (*Hidāya*) of Abū Bakr Ajwīnī, or the "Sufficiency" (*Kifāya*) of Ahmad [ibn] Faraj and the "Aims" (*Aghrād*) of Sayyid Iṣma'īl Jurjānī<sup>9</sup>. Then he

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'an*, xvii, 84.

<sup>2</sup> Each prayer consists of three parts, what is obligatory (*fard*), what is customary after the Prophet's example (*sunnat*), and what is supererogatory (*nafla*). The *sunnat* portion comes first, so that in the story the narrator was interrupted before he had performed the obligatory prostrations.

<sup>3</sup> See Wüstenfeld's *Geschichte d. Arab. Aerzte*, No. 69, pp. 26-29. He was born A.H. 194 (A.D. 809) and died A.H. 260 (A.D. 873). A fuller account of all these writers and their works will be found in Note XXVII at the end.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 98, pp. 40-49. He is known in Europe as Rasis or Rhazes. The *Murshid* here mentioned is identified by the Editor with the work properly entitled *al-Fuṣūṭ fī'l-Tibb*, or "Aphorisms in Medicine." See p. 111 of the Persian notes, and Note XXVII at the end.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 111 of the Persian notes. His full name was Abū Sahl Sa'īd ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, and he was a native of Nishāpūr. The *nāda* "Nīlī" is explained in Sam'ānī's *Annab* (Vol. xx of the Gibb Series, f. 574<sup>b</sup>) as referring to a place called Nīl between Baghdād and Kūfa, or to connection with the trade in indigo (*nīl*). Here the latter sense is evidently required. Mention is made of the brother of our physician, a poet and man of letters named Abū 'Abdu'r-Rahmān ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, who died about 440/1048-9.

<sup>6</sup> Al-Qiftī in his *Tārīkhul-Hukamā* (ed. Lippert, p. 120) mentions this work, but expresses a doubt as to its authorship.

<sup>7</sup> See Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 43, No. 2. This celebrated work was composed for Manṣūr ibn Ishāq, Governor of Ray, A.D. 903-9.

<sup>8</sup> See Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, No. 165, p. 95.

should take up one of the more detailed treatises, such as the "Sixteen (Treatises," *Sitta 'ashar*) of Galen, or the "Continens" (*Hāwī*)<sup>1</sup> of Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā, or the "Complete Practitioner" (*Kāmilū's-Sind'at*)<sup>2</sup>, or the "Hundred Chapters" (*Ṣad Bdb*) of Abū Sahl Mas'ūh<sup>3</sup>, or the *Qanūn* of Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā (Avicenna)<sup>4</sup>, or the *Dhakhira-i-Khvdrazm-shāh*<sup>5</sup>, and read it in his leisure moments; or, if he desires to be independent of other works, he may content himself with the *Qanūn*.

The Lord (vi) of the two worlds and the Guide of the two Grosser Races says: "Every kind of game is in the belly of the wild ass": all this of which I have spoken is to be found in the *Qanūn*, with much in addition thereto; and whoever has mastered the first volume of the *Qanūn*, to him nothing will be hidden of the general and fundamental principles of Medicine, for could Hippocrates and Galen return to life, it were meet that they should do reverence to this book. Yet have I heard a wonderful thing, to wit that one hath taken exception to Abū 'Alī [ibn Sīnā] in respect of this work, and hath embodied his objections in a book, which he hath named "the Rectification of the *Qanūn*"; and it is as though I looked at both, and perceived what a fool the author was, and how detestable is the book which he has composed! For what right has anyone to find fault with so great a man when the very first question which he meets with in a book of his which he comes across is difficult to his comprehension? For four thousand years the wise men of antiquity travelled in spirit and melted their very souls in order to reduce the Science of Philosophy to some fixed order, yet could not effect this, until, after the lapse of this period, that incomparable philosopher and most powerful thinker Aristotle weighed this coin in the balance of Logic, assayed it with the touchstone of definitions, and measured it by the scale of analogy, so that all doubt and ambiguity departed from it, and it became established

<sup>1</sup> This, known to mediæval Europe as the "Continens," is the most detailed and most important of ar-Rāzī's works. The original Arabic exists only in manuscript, and that partially. The Latin translation was printed at Brescia in A.D. 1486, and in 1500, 1506, 1509 and 1542 at Venice. See Note XXVII at the end, No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> This notable work, also known as *al-Kitāb al-Malikī* ("Liber Regius") was composed by 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Majūsī ("Haly Abbas" of the mediæval physicians of Europe), who died in A.H. 384 (A.D. 994). The Arabic text has been lithographed at Lahore in A.H. 1283 (A.D. 1866) and printed at Bulāq in A.H. 1294 (A.D. 1877). There are two editions of the Latin translation (Venice, A.D. 1492, and Lyons, A.D. 1533).

<sup>3</sup> Avicenna's master, d. A.H. 390 (A.D. 1000). See Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit.*, pp. 59-60, No. 118; p. 119 of the Persian notes; and Note XXVII, No. 9, at the end.

<sup>4</sup> See Note XXVII, No. 10, at the end.

<sup>5</sup> See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 466-467.

<sup>6</sup> Meaning that every kind of game is inferior to the wild ass. It is said proverbially of any one who excels his fellows. See Lane's *Arabic Lexicon*, p. 2357, *ن.و. فَرَأَ*.

<sup>7</sup> اصلاح قانون.

on a sure and critical basis. And during these fifteen centuries which have elapsed since his time, no philosopher hath won to the inmost essence of his doctrine, nor travelled the high road of his method, save that most excellent of the moderns, the Philosopher of the East, the Proof of God unto His creatures, Abú 'Alí al-Husayn ibn 'Abdu'lláh ibn Síná (Avicenna). He who finds fault with these two great men will have cut himself off from the company of the wise, placed himself in the category of madmen, and exhibited himself in the ranks of the feeble-minded. May God (blessed and exalted is He!) keep us from such stumblings and vain desires, by His Favour and His Grace!

So, if the physician hath mastered the first volume of the *Qdún*, and hath attained to forty years of age, he will be worthy of confidence; yet even if he hath attained to this degree, he should keep ever with him some of the smaller treatises composed by proved masters, such as the "Gift of Kings" (*Tuhfatu'l-Mulúk*)<sup>1</sup> of Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá [ar-Rázi], or the *Kifáya* of Ibn Mandúya of Isfahán<sup>2</sup>, or the "Provision against all sorts of errors in Medical Treatment" (*Taddrúku anwā'il-khaṭá fi 't-tadbiri't-tibbi*)<sup>3</sup> of which Abú 'Alí (Avicenna) is the author; or the *Khuffyy-i-'Alá'*<sup>4</sup>, or the "Memoranda" (*Yaddigár*)<sup>5</sup> of Sayyid Isma'íl Jurjání. For no reliance can be placed on the Memory, which is located in the most posterior (or) part of the brain<sup>6</sup>, and when it is slow in its operation these books may prove helpful.

Therefore every King who would choose a physician must see that these conditions which have been enumerated are found in him; for it is no light matter to commit one's life and soul into the hands of any ignorant quack, or to entrust the care of one's health to any reckless charlatan.

<sup>1</sup> No mention of such a work is made in any of the biographies of ar-Rázi.

<sup>2</sup> Abú 'Alí Ahmad ibn 'Abdu'r-Rahmán ibn Mandúya of Isfahán was a notable physician of the fourth century of the *hijra* (tenth of the Christian era). He was one of the four and twenty physicians appointed by 'Adud-d-Dawla to the hospital which he founded at Baghddád. The proper title of the work to which our author here refers appears to be *al-Kifáya*, not *al-Kifáya*.

<sup>3</sup> This book was printed in 1305/1887-8 at Buldúq in the margins of the *Maná'il-u'l-Aghābiya wa Ma'adarru-há* ("Beneficial and injurious properties of Foods") of ar-Rázi.

<sup>4</sup> A small manual of Medicine in Persian by the author of the *Dhakhira-i-Khawarizm-sháh*, written by command of Atsiz Khawarizm-sháh (succeeded to the throne in 521/1127) and called after him, his title being 'Alá'u'd-Dawla.

<sup>5</sup> Another small manual by the same author as the last. See Adolf Foa's *Zur Quellenkunde der Persischen Medizin* (Leipzig, 1910), p. 105, No. 280, and p. 139.

<sup>6</sup> Concerning the Five Internal Senses and their supposed location in the brain, see p. 8 *supra*, and also my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 144-145.

## ANECDOTE XXXIII.

Bukht-Yishú', a Christian of Baghdád, was a skilful physician and a true and tender man; and he was attached to the service of al-Ma'mún [the Caliph]. Now one of the House of Hâshim, a kinsman of al-Ma'mún, was attacked with dysentery, and al-Ma'mún, being greatly attached to him, sent Bukht-Yishú' to treat him. So he, for al-Ma'mún's sake, rose up, girt himself with his soul<sup>1</sup>, and treated him in various ways—but to no purpose, and tried such recondite remedies as he knew, but to no advantage, for the case had passed beyond his powers. So Bukht-Yishú' was ashamed before al-Ma'mún, who, divining this, said to him, "O Bukht-Yishú', be not abashed, for thou didst fulfil thine utmost endeavour, and rendered good service, but God Almighty doth not desire [that thou shouldst succeed]. Acquiesce in Fate, even as we have acquiesced." Bukht-Yishú', seeing al-Ma'mún thus hopeless, replied, "One other remedy remains, and it is a perilous one; but, trusting to the Fortune of the Prince of Believers, I will attempt it, and perchance God Most High may cause it to succeed."

Now the patient was going to stool fifty or sixty times a day. So Bukht-Yishú' prepared a purgative and administered it to him; and on the day whereon he took the purgative, his diarrhoea was still further increased; but next day it stopped. So the physicians asked him, "What hazardous treatment was this which thou didst adopt?" He answered, "The *materies morbi* of this diarrhoea was from the brain, and until it was dislodged from the brain the flux would not cease. I feared that, if I administered a purgative, the patient's strength might not be equal to the increased diarrhoea; but, when all despaired, I said to myself, 'After all, there is hope in giving the purgative, but none in withholding it.' So I gave it, relying on God, for He is All Powerful; and God Most High vouchsafed a cure and the patient recovered; and my opinion was justified, namely that if the purgative were withheld, only the death of the patient was to be expected, (or) but that if it were administered, there was a possibility of either life or death. So I deemed it best to administer it."

<sup>1</sup> See Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 17, No. 30, and Note XXVII, No. 1, at the end. Concerning this and similar names, see Nöldeke's *Geschichte d. Artakhschir-i-Pâpâdn*, p. 49, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, "Put his whole heart into his task."



## ANECDOTE XXXIV.

The great Shaykh and Proof of the Truth Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) relates as follows in the "Book of the Origin and the Return" (*Kitāb al-Mabda' wa'l-Ma'ad*), at the end of the section on "the possibility of the production of exceptional psychical phenomena":—He says "A curious anecdote hath reached me which I have heard related. A certain physician was attached to the court of one of the House of Sāmān, and there attained so high a position of trust that he used to enter the women's apartments and feel the pulses of its carefully-guarded and closely-veiled inmates. One day he was sitting with the King in the women's apartments in a place where it was impossible for any [other] male creature to penetrate. The King demanded food, and it was brought by the hand-maidens. One of these who was laying the table took the tray off her head, bent down, and placed it on the ground. When she desired to stand upright again, she was unable to do so, but remained as she was, by reason of a rheumatic swelling of the joints<sup>1</sup>. The King turned to the physician and said, "You must cure her at once in whatever way you can." Here was no opportunity for any physical method of treatment, for which no appliances were available, no drugs being at hand. So the physician bethought himself of a psychical treatment, and bade them remove the veil from her head and expose her hair, so that she might be ashamed and make some movement, this condition being displeasing to her, to wit that all her head and face should be thus exposed. As, however, she underwent no change, he proceeded to something still more shameful, and ordered her trousers to be removed. She was overcome with shame, and a warmth was produced within her such that it dissolved that thick rheum and she stood up straight and sound, and regained her normal condition<sup>2</sup>.

Had this physician not been wise and capable, he would never have thought of this treatment and would have been unable to effect this cure; while had he failed he would have forfeited the King's regard. Hence a knowledge of natural phenomena and an apprehension of the facts of Nature form part of this subject. And God knoweth best!

<sup>1</sup> The original passage is cited by Mirzā Muḥammad (on p. 111 of the Persian notes) from Add. 16,659 of the British Museum, f. 488.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, "by reason of a thick rheum which was produced in her joints."

<sup>3</sup> This anecdote is told by al-Qifī (p. 111) and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (Vol. I, p. 111) of the physician Bukht-Yishū' and the Caliph Hārūn-r-Rashīd. A versified rendering of it is given in Jāmi's "Chain of Gold" (*Silsilat al-Dhahab*), composed in A.D. 1485. The text of this version is given in Note XXVIII at the end.

## (VI) ANECDOTE XXXV.

Another of the House of Sámán, Amír Manšúr ibn Núh ibn Naṣr<sup>1</sup>, became afflicted with an ailment which grew chronic, and remained established, and the physicians were unable to cure it. So the Amír Manšúr sent messengers to summon Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá ar-Rázi to treat him. Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá came as far as the Oxus, but, when he reached its shores and saw it, he said, "I will not embark in the boat, for God Most High saith—'Do not cast yourselves into peril with your own hands'; and again it is surely a thing remote from wisdom voluntarily to place one's self in so hazardous a position." Ere the Amír's messenger had gone to Bukhárá and returned, he had composed the *Kitáb-i-Manšúri*, which he sent by the hand of that person, saying, "I am this book, and by this book thou canst attain thine object, so that there is no need of me."

When the book reached the Amír he was grievously afflicted, wherefore he sent a thousand *díndrs* and one of his own private horses fully caparisoned, saying, "Show him every kindness, but, if this proves fruitless, bind his hands and feet, place him in the boat, and fetch him across." They did so, but their entreaties moved him not at all. Then they bound his hands and feet, placed him in the boat, and, when they had ferried him across the river, released his limbs. Then they brought the led-horse, fully caparisoned, before him, and he mounted in the best of humours, and set out for Bukhárá. So they enquired of him, saying, "We feared lest, when we should cross the water and set thee free, thou wouldst cherish enmity against us, but thou didst not so, nor do we see thee annoyed or vexed in heart." He replied, "I know that every year twenty thousand persons cross the Oxus without being drowned, and that I too should probably not be drowned; still, it was possible that I might perish, and if this had happened they would have continued till the Resurrection to say, 'A foolish fellow was Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá, in that, of his own free will he embarked in a boat and so was drowned.' So should I be one of those who deserve blame, not of those who are held excused."

<sup>1</sup> That is Manšúr I, who reigned A.H. 350-366 (A.D. 961-976). This anecdote is given in the *Akhḍiq-i-Jahill* (ed. Lucknow, A.H. 1283), pp. 168-170. It is, however, a tissue of errors, for this Manšúr came to the throne at least thirty years after the death of the great physician ar-Rázi, who died either in A.H. 311 or 320 (A.D. 923-4 or 932). The Manšúr to whom his *Kitáb-i-Manšúri* was dedicated was an entirely different person. See Note XXVII, No. 4, at the end, *z.v.* *Al-Āl-i-Manšúri*. This anecdote, as Mirzá Muḥammad has pointed out to me, appears to be based, so far as the refusal to cross the Oxus is concerned, on an incident in the life of the geographer Abū Zayd al-Balkhī. See al-Manḡisī's *Aḥsanu'l-Taqṣīs fī ma'rifa'l-Aqālīm*, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Qu'ān*, ii, 191.

When he reached Bukhárá, the Amír came in and they saw one another and he began to treat him, exerting his powers to the utmost, but without relief to the patient. One day he came in before the Amír and said, "To-morrow (v.) I am going to try another method of treatment, but for the carrying out of it you will have to sacrifice such-and-such a horse and such-and-such a mule," the two being both animals noted for their speed, so that in one night they would go forty parasangs.

So next day he took the Amír to the hot bath of Jú-yi-Múlián<sup>1</sup>, outside the palace, leaving that horse and mule ready equipped and tightly girt in the charge of his own servant at the door of the bath; while of the King's retinue and attendants he suffered not one to enter the bath. Then he brought the King into the middle chamber of the hot bath, and poured over him tepid water, after which he prepared a draught, tasted it, and gave it to him to drink. And he kept him there till such time as the humours in his joints had undergone coction.

Then he himself went out and put on his clothes, and, [taking a knife in his hand]<sup>2</sup>, came in, and stood for a while reviling the King, saying: "O such-and-such, thou didst order thy people to bind and cast me into the boat and to threaten my life. If I do not destroy thee as a punishment for this, I am no true son of [my father] Zakariyyá!"

The Amír was furious and rose from his place to his knees. Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá drew a knife and threatened him yet more, until the Amír, partly from anger, partly from fear, completely rose to his feet. When Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá saw the Amír on his feet, he turned round and went out from the bath, and both he and his servant mounted, the one the horse, the other the mule, and turned their faces towards the Oxus. At the time of the afternoon prayer they crossed the river, and halted nowhere till they reached Merv. When Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá alighted at Merv, he wrote a letter to the Amír, saying, "May the life of the King be prolonged in health of body and effective command! I your servant undertook the treatment and did all that was possible. There was, however, an extreme failure in the natural caloric, and the treatment of the disease by ordinary means would have been a protracted affair. I therefore abandoned it in favour of psychical treatment, carried you to the hot bath, administered a draught, and left you so long as to bring about a coction of the humours. Then I angered the King, so as to aid the natural caloric, and it gained strength until those humours, already softened, were dissolved. But henceforth it is not expedient that a meeting should take place between myself and the King."

<sup>1</sup> See n. 2 on p. 35 *supra*, and Note XVI at the end.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence, though omitted in the printed text, seems on the whole to be an improvement.

Now after the Amír had risen to his feet and Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá had gone out and ridden off, the Amír at once fainted. When he came to himself he went forth from the bath and (v) called to his servants, saying, "Where has the physician gone?" They answered, "He came out from the bath, and mounted the horse, while his attendant mounted the mule, and went off."

Then the Amír knew what object he had had in view. So he came forth on his own feet from the hot bath; and tidings of this ran through the city. Then he gave audience, and his servants and retainers and people rejoiced greatly, and gave alms, and offered sacrifices, and held high festival. But they could not find the physician, seek him as they might. And on the seventh day Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá's servant arrived, riding the mule and leading the horse, and presented the letter. The Amír read it, and was astonished, and excused him, and sent him an honorarium consisting of a horse fully caparisoned, a cloak, turban and arms, and a slave-boy and a handmaiden; and further commanded that there should be assigned to him in Ray from the estates of al-Ma'mún<sup>1</sup> a yearly allowance of two thousand *dirhams* in gold and two hundred ass-loads of corn. This honorarium and pension-warrant he forwarded to him at Merv by the hand of a man of note. So the Amír completely regained his health, and Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá attained his object.

#### • ANECDOTE XXXVI.

Abu'l-'Abbás Ma'mún Khwárazmsháh<sup>2</sup> had a Minister named Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad as-Suhayl<sup>3</sup>. He was a man of philosophical disposition, magnanimous nature and scholarly tastes, while Khwárazmsháh likewise was a philosopher and friend of scholars. In consequence of this many philosophers and men of erudition, such as Abú 'Alí ibn Síná, Abú Sahl-i-Mas'hi, Abu'l-Khayr ibnu'l-Khammár, Abú Naṣr-i-'Arráq and Abú Rayhán al-Bírónī<sup>4</sup>, gathered about his court.

Now Abú Naṣr-i-'Arráq was the nephew of Khwárazmsháh,

<sup>1</sup> The precise meaning of these words has not yet been determined.

<sup>2</sup> See p. viii of the Preface to Sachau's translation of al-Bīrdī's *Chronology of the Ancient Nations*, and the same scholar's article *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Chwarezm in den Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie* for 1863. See also Note XXIX at the end, and pp. 111-4 of the Persian notes. Ma'mún II, to whom this anecdote refers, was the third ruler of this House, and was killed in 407/1016-17.

<sup>3</sup> Or "as-Sahli," but Mirzá Muḥammad considers "Suhayli" to be the correct form. He died at Surra man ra'a in 418/1027-28.

<sup>4</sup> The first, second, and last of these learned men have been already mentioned. The third is Abu'l-Khayr al-Ḥasan ibnu'l-Khammár (Wüstenfeld's *Geschichte d. Arab. Aerzte*, No. 115, pp. 58-59) who died A.H. 381 (A.D. 991). See also Note XXVII at the end, Nos. 5, 6, 9 and 10.

and in all branches of Mathematics he was second only to Ptolemy; and Abu'l-Khayr ibnu'l-Khaminár was the third after Hippocrates and Galen in the science of Medicine; and Abú Rayhán [al-Bírúní] in Astronomy held the position of Abú Ma'shar and Ahmad ibn 'Abdu'l-Jalíl; while Abú 'Alí [ibn Síná] and Abú Sahl Mas'ihí were the successors of Aristotle in the Science of Philosophy, which includes all sciences. And all these were, in this their service, independent of worldly cares, and maintained with one another familiar intercourse and pleasant correspondence.

But Fortune disapproved of this and Heaven disallowed it; their pleasure was spoiled and their happy life was marred. (vv) A notable arrived from Sultán Mahmúd Yamínu'd-Dawla with a letter, whereof the purport was as follows. "I have heard that there are in attendance on Khwárazmsháh several men of learning who are beyond compare, such as so-and-so and so-and-so. Thou must send them to my court, so that they may attain the honour of attendance thereat, while we may profit by their knowledge and skill. So shall we be much beholden to Khwárazmsháh."

Now the bearer of this message was Khwája Husayn ibn 'Alí ibn Miská'il, who was one of the most accomplished and remarkable men of his age, and the wonder of his time amongst his contemporaries, while the affairs of Sultán Mahmúd Yamínu'd-Dawla were at the zenith of prosperity, his Kingdom enjoyed the utmost splendour, and his Empire the greatest elevation, so that the Kings of the time used to treat him with every respect, and at night lay down in fear of him. So Khwárazmsháh assigned to Husayn [ibn 'Alí] ibn Miská'il the best of lodgings, and ordered him the most ample entertainment; but, before according him an audience, he summoned the philosophers and laid before them the King's letter, saying: "Mahmúd hath a strong hafid and a large army: he hath annexed Khurásán and India and covets 'Iráq, and I cannot refuse to obey his order or execute his mandate. What say ye on this matter?"

Abú 'Alí ibn Síná and Abú Sahl answered, "We will not go"; but Abú Nasr, Abu'l-Khayr and Abú Rayhán were eager to go, having heard accounts of the King's munificent gifts and presents. Then said Khwárazmsháh, "Do you two, who have no wish to go, take your own way before I give audience to this man." Then he equipped Abú 'Alí [ibn Síná] and Abú Sahl, and sent with them a guide, and they set off by the way of the wolves' towards Gurgán.

<sup>1</sup> I imagine that a word-play is here intended between Gurgán (the old Hyrcania, of which the present capital is Astarábad) and *ar rāh-i-gurgān* ("by the Wolves' Way"), i.e. "across the desert." This is the reading of C.; the other texts have "across the desert to Mázandarán."

Next day Khwárazmsháh accorded Husayn ibn 'Alí ibn Míká'il an audience, and heaped on him all sorts of favours. "I have read the letter," said he, "and have acquainted myself with its contents and with the King's command. Abú 'Alí and Abú Sahl are gone, but Abú Naṣr, Abú Rayḥán and Abú'l-Khayr are making their preparations to appear at [Maḥmúd's] court." So in a little while he provided their outfit, and despatched them in the company of Khwāja Husayn ibn 'Alí ibn Míká'il. And in due course they came into the presence of Sulṭán Yaminu'd-Dawla Maḥmúd at Balkh, and there joined his court.

Now it was Abú 'Alí [ibn Síná] whom the King chiefly desired. He commanded Abú Naṣr-i-'Arráq, who was a painter, to draw his portrait on paper, (va) and then ordered other artists to make forty copies of the portrait, and these he despatched with proclamations in all directions, and made demand of the neighbouring rulers, saying, "There is a man after this likeness, whom they call Abú 'Alí ibn Síná. Seek him out and send him to me."

Now when Abú 'Alí and Abú Sahl departed from Khwárazmsháh with Abú'l-Husayn as-Suhayl's man, they so-wrought that ere morning they had travelled fifteen parasangs. When it was morning they alighted at a place where there were wells, and Abú 'Alí took up an astrological table to see under what Ascendant they had started on their journey. When he had examined it he turned to Abú Sahl and said, "Judging by this Ascendant under which we started, we shall lose our way and experience grievous hardships." Said Abú Sahl, "We acquiesce in God's decree. Indeed I know that I shall not come safely through this journey, for during these two days the passage of the degree of my Ascendant falls in Capricorn, which is the sector, so that no hope remains to me. Henceforth only the intercourse of souls will exist between us." So they rode on.

Abú 'Alí relates that on the fourth day, a wind arose and stirred up the dust, so that the world was darkened. They lost their way, for the wind had obliterated the tracks. When the wind lulled, their guide was more astray than themselves; and, in the heat of the desert of Khwárazm, Abú Sahl-i-Mas'úf, through lack of water and thirst, passed away to the World of Eternity, while the guide and Abú 'Alí, after experiencing a thousand hardships, reached Báward. There the guide turned back, while Abú 'Alí went to Tús, and finally arrived at Nishápúr.

There he found a number of persons who were seeking for Abú 'Alí. Filled with anxiety, he alighted in a quiet spot, where he abode several days, and thence he turned his face towards

<sup>1</sup> The term *tazyir* is explained at p. 111. of Van Vloten's ed. of the *Mafáṭih* 'ul-  
'ulm.

Gurgán, for Qábús<sup>1</sup>, who was King of that province, was a great and philosophically-minded man, and a friend of scholars. Abú 'Alí knew that there no harm would befall him. When he reached Gurgán, he alighted at a caravanseray. Now it happened that one fell sick in his neighbourhood, and Abú 'Alí treated him, and he got better. Then he treated another patient, who also got better, and so people began to bring him their water in the morning for him to look at, and he began to earn an income, which continued to increase day by day. Some time elapsed thus, until an illness befell one of the relatives of Qábús ibn Washmgfr, who was the King of Gurgán. The physicians set themselves to treat him, (vā) striving and exerting themselves to the utmost, but the disease was not cured. Now Qábús was greatly concerned about this, till one of his servants said to him, "Into such-and-such a caravanseray a young man hath entered who is a great physician, and whose efforts are singularly blessed, so that several persons have been cured at his hands." So Qábús bade them seek him out and bring him to the patient, that he might treat him, seeing that the effort of one may be more blessed than that of another.

So they sought out Abú 'Alí and brought him to the patient, whom he beheld to be a youth of comely countenance, whereon the hair had scarcely begun to shew itself, and of symmetrical proportions, but now laid low. He sat down, felt his pulse, asked to see his urine, inspected it, and said, "I want a man who knows all the houses and districts of Gurgán." So they brought one, saying, "Here you are"; and Abú 'Alí placed his hand on the patient's pulse, and bade the other mention the names of the different districts of Gurgán. So the man began, and continued to name the districts until he reached one at the mention of which the patient's pulse gave a strange flutter. Then Abú 'Alí said, "Now give the streets in this quarter." The man gave them, until he arrived at the name of a street whereat that strange flutter recurred. Then Abú 'Alí said, "We need someone who knows all the houses in this street." They brought such an one, who proceeded to give out the houses till he reached a house at the mention of which the patient's pulse gave the same flutter. "Now," said Abú 'Alí, "I want someone who knows the names of all the household and can repeat them." They brought such an one, and he began to repeat them until he reached a name at the mention of which that same flutter was apparent.

Then said Abú 'Alí, "It is finished." Thereupon he turned to the confidential advisers of Qábús, and said, "This lad is in

<sup>1</sup> *Shams al-Ma'ālī* Qábús ibn Washmgfr reigned A.H. 366-371 (A.D. 976-981) and again A.H. 388-403 (A.D. 998-1012). To him al-Birūnī dedicated his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*. See Sachau's English translation of that work, Preface, p. viii.

\* love with such-and-such a girl, so-and-so by name, in such-and-such a house, in such-and-such a street, in such-and-such a quarter: union with that girl is his remedy, and the sight of her his cure." The patient, who was listening, and heard all that Abú 'Alí said, hid his face in shame beneath the bed-clothes. When they made enquiries, it was even as Abú 'Alí had said<sup>1</sup>. Then they reported this matter to Qábús, who was mightily amazed thereat and said, "Bring him before me." So Abú 'Alí ibn Síná was brought before Qábús<sup>2</sup>.

Now Qábús had a copy of Abú 'Alí's portrait, which Sultán Yamínu'd-Dawla had sent to him. (A.) "Art thou Abú 'Alí?" enquired he. "Yes, O most puissant Prince," replied the other. Then Qábús came down from his throne, advanced several paces to meet Abú 'Alí, embraced him, sat beside him on a cushion before the throne, heaped favours upon him, and enquired of him graciously, saying, "That most illustrious and accomplished man and most perfect philosopher must without fail explain to me the rationale of this treatment." "O Sire," answered Abú 'Alí, "When I inspected his pulse and urine, I became convinced that his complaint was love, and that he had fallen thus sick through keeping his secret. Had I questioned him, he would not have told me the truth; so I placed my hand on his pulse while they repeated in succession the names of the different districts, and when it came to the region of his beloved, love stirred him, the movements of his pulse altered, and I knew that she was a dweller in that quarter. Then I bade them name the streets, and when he heard the street of his beloved the same thing occurred again, so that I knew the name of the street also. Then I bade them mention the names of the households in that street, and the same phenomenon occurred when the house of his beloved was named, so that I knew the house also. Then I bade them mention the names of its inhabitants, and when he heard the name of his beloved, he was greatly affected, so that I knew the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the precisely similar narrative in the first story of the first book of the *Mathnawí* of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúml, and also a passage in the section of the *Daakhíru'l-Khudsraam-sháhi* (Book vi, Gúfár i, Jux' 2, ch. 3) dealing with the malady of love, of which this is a translation:—"Now the lover's pulse is variable and irregular, especially when he sees the object of his affections, or hears her name, or gets tidings of her. In this way one can discover, in the case of one who conceals his love and the name of his beloved, who is the object of his passion, and that in the following way. The physician should place his finger on the patient's pulse, and unexpectedly order the names of those persons amongst whom it may be surmised that his sweetheart is to be found to be repeated, whereupon it will appear from the patient's behaviour who his beloved is, and what her name is. Avicenna (upon whom be God's Mercy) says: 'I have tried this plan, and have succeeded by it in finding out who the beloved object was.'" Avicenna's actual words are quoted from the *Qánun* on pp. 111-112 of the Persian notes.

<sup>2</sup> We have it on Avicenna's own authority that he arrived in Jurján just too late to see Qábús, who had been deposed and cast into prison, where he was soon afterwards put to death in 403/1012-1013. (See pp. 111-112 of the Persian notes.)



name of his sweetheart also. Then I told him my conclusion, and he could not deny it, but was compelled to confess the truth."

Qábús was greatly astonished at this treatment and was filled with wonder, and indeed there was good reason for astonishment. "O most glorious, eminent and excellent one," said he, "both the lover and the beloved are the children of my sisters, and are cousins to one another. Choose, then, an auspicious moment that I may unite them in marriage." So Master Abú 'Alí chose a fortunate hour, and in it the marriage-knot was tied, and lover and beloved were united, and that handsome young prince was delivered from an ailment which had brought him to death's door. And thereafter Qábús maintained Abú 'Alí in the best manner possible, and thence he went to Ray, and finally became minister to the Sháhísháh 'Alá'u'd-Dawla<sup>1</sup>, as indeed is well known in the history of Abú 'Alí ibn Síná's life.

#### ANECDOTE XXXVII. .

The author of the *Kámilû's-Sindât*<sup>2</sup> was physician to 'Adu-du'd-Dawla<sup>3</sup> in Párs, in the city of Shíráz. Now in that (the) city there was a porter who used to carry loads of four hundred and five hundred maunds on his back. And every five or six months he would be attacked by headache, and become restless, remaining so for ten days or a fortnight. One time he was attacked by this headache, and when seven or eight days had elapsed, and he had several times determined to destroy himself, it finally happened that one day this great physician passed by the door of his house. The porter's brothers ran to meet him, did reverence to him, and, conjuring him by God Most High, told him about their brother's condition and headache. "Show him to me," said the physician. So they brought him before the physician, who saw that he was a big man, of bulky frame, wearing on his feet a pair of shoes each of which weighed a maund and a half. Then the physician felt his pulse and asked for and examined his urine; after which, "Bring him with me into the open country," said he. They did so, and on their arrival there, he bade his servant take the porter's turban from his head, cast it round his neck, and twist it tight. Then he ordered another servant to take the shoes off the porter's feet and strike him twenty blows on the head, which he accordingly did. The porter's sons lamented loudly, but the physician was a man of consequence

<sup>1</sup> He was the son of Dushmanziyár, ruler over Isfahán from A.H. 398 to 433 (A.D. 1007-1041), and is commonly known as Ibn Kákawsih or Kákdiya.

<sup>2</sup> See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, vol. 1, p. 237, No. 19. His name was 'Alí ibn 'Abdú al-Majdi, and he died in A.H. 384 (A.D. 994). For some account of his life and work see Note XXVII at the end, and also p. 79 *supra*, n. 2 *ad calc.*

<sup>3</sup> The second prince of the House of Báya, reigned A.H. 338-372 (A.D. 949-982).

and consideration, so that they could do nothing. Then the physician ordered his servant to take hold of the turban which he had twisted round his neck, to mount his horse, and to drag the porter after him round the plain. The servant did as he was bid, and made him run far afield, so that blood began to flow from his nostrils. "Now," said the physician, "let him be." So he was let alone, and there continued to flow from him blood stinking worse than carrion. The man fell asleep amidst the blood which flowed from his nose, and three hundred *dirhams*' weight of blood escaped from his nostrils ere the hæmorrhage ceased. They then lifted him up and bore him thence to his house, and he never woke, but slept for a day and a night, and his headache passed away and never again returned or required treatment.

Then 'Aḡudū'd-Dawla questioned the physician as to the rationale of this treatment. "O King," he replied, "that blood in his brain was not a matter which could be eliminated by an aperient of aloes, and there was no other method of treatment than that which I adopted."

#### (۱۷) ANECDOTE XXXVIII.

Melancholia is a disease which physicians often fail to treat successfully, for, though all diseases arising from the black bile are chronic, melancholia is a pathological condition which is especially slow to pass. Abu'l-Ḥasan ibn Yahyá<sup>2</sup> in his work entitled the "Hippocratic Therapeutics" (*Mu'dlaja-i-Buḡrāfi*), a book the like of which hath been composed by no one on the Art of Medicine, hath enumerated the leaders of thought, sages, scholars and philosophers who have been afflicted by this disease.

My master the Shaykh Abū Ja'far ibn Muḥammad Abū Sa'd<sup>3</sup> [al-Nashawī]<sup>4</sup>, commonly known as Ṣarakh<sup>5</sup>, related to me, on the authority of the Imām Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Aqīl al-Qazwīnī, on the authority of the Amīr Fakhrū'd-Dawla Abū Kālānjār the Būyid as follows:

"One of the princes of the House of Būya was attacked by melancholy, and was in such wise affected by the disease that

<sup>1</sup> *Adraḡ* or *Ydra* is a compound medicine of a purgative or alterative character. The kind called *ṣifṣī* (from the Greek *κυσπῆ*) has aloes as its principal active ingredient.

<sup>2</sup> See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, vol. i, p. 137, and p. 101 of the Persian notes. He gives his own name in full as Abū'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad at-Ṭabarī. He was court physician to the Būyid prince Ruknū'd-Dawla from A.H. 332 (A.D. 943-4) onwards. MSS. of the work cited exist at Oxford, Munich, and in the India Office.

<sup>3</sup> A. has Sa'dī.

<sup>4</sup> This *nisha* occurs only in L.

<sup>5</sup> So all texts, صرخ, a form hitherto unexplained.

he imagined himself to have been transformed into a cow. All day he would cry out to this one and that one saying, 'Kill me, so that a good stew may be prepared from my flesh'; until matters reached such a pass that he would eat nothing, and the days passed and he continued to waste away, and the physicians were unable to do him any good.

"Now at this juncture Abū 'Alī (Avicenna) was prime minister, and the Shāhīnshāh 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Muḥammad ibn Dushmānziyār<sup>1</sup> favoured him greatly, and had entrusted into his hands all the affairs of the kingdom, and left all matters to his judgement and discretion. And indeed since Alexander the Great, whose minister was Aristotle, no King had had such a minister as Abū 'Alī. And during the time that he was minister, he used to rise up every morning before dawn and write a couple of pages of the *Shifā*. Then, when the true dawn appeared, he used to give audience to his disciples, such as Kiyā Ra'īs Bahmanyār<sup>2</sup>, Abū Maṣṣūr ibn Zīla<sup>3</sup>, 'Abdu'l-Wāhid Jūzjānī<sup>4</sup>, Sulayman of Damascus, and me, Abū Kālānjār. We used to continue our studies till the morning grew bright, and then perform our prayers behind him; and as soon as we came forth we were met at the gate of his house by a thousand mounted men, comprising the dignitaries and notables, as well as such as had boons to crave or were in difficulties. Then the minister would mount, and this company would attend him to the Government Offices. By the time he arrived there, the number of horsemen (ar) had reached two thousand. And there he would remain until the noon-tide prayer, and when he retired for refreshment a great company ate with him. Then he took his mid-day siesta, and when he rose up from this he would perform his prayer, wait on the King, and remain talking and conversing with him until the afternoon prayer; and in all matters of state importance there was no third person between him and the King.

"Our object in narrating these details is to shew that the minister had no leisure time. Now when the physicians proved unable to cure this young man, the case was represented to that puissant Prince 'Alā'u'd-Dawla, and his intercession was sought, so that he might bid his minister take the case in hand. So

<sup>1</sup> See Note XXX at end.

<sup>2</sup> One of Avicenna's most celebrated works. See the *British Museum Arabic Catalogue*, p. 745<sup>a</sup>, and the *Supplement* to the same, No. 711, pp. 484-485.

<sup>3</sup> Abū'l-Ḥasan Bahmanyār ibn Marzubān al-Adharbāyjanī al-Majdī. He was one of Avicenna's most notable disciples, and died about A.H. 458 (A.D. 1066). See pp. 101-102 of the Persian notes.

<sup>4</sup> Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Zīla al-Iṣfahānī. He died in A.H. 440 (A.D. 1048-49). See p. 102 of the Persian notes.

<sup>5</sup> His kunya was Abū 'Ubayd and his father's name Muḥammad. He attached himself to Avicenna in Jurjān in A.H. 403 (A.D. 1012-1013) and continued with him as long as he lived, viz. for about 25 years. He not only inspired and encouraged Avicenna during his lifetime, but collected and arranged his works after his death.

'Alá'u'd-Dawla spoke to him to this effect, and he consented. Then said he, 'Give good tidings to the patient, and say, "the butcher is coming to kill thee!"' When the patient was told this, he rejoiced. Then the minister mounted his horse, and came with his usual retinue to the gate of the patient's house, which he entered with two others. Taking a knife in his hand, he said, 'Where is this cow, that I may kill it?' The patient made a noise like a cow, meaning, 'It is here.' The minister bade them bring him into the middle of the house, bind him hand and foot, and throw him down. When the patient heard this, he ran forward into the middle of the house and lay down on his right side, and they bound his feet firmly. Then Abd 'Alī came forward, rubbing the knives together, sat down, and placed his hand on the patient's ribs, as is the custom of butchers. 'O what a lean cow!' said he; 'it is not fit to be killed: give it fodder until it gets fat.' Then he rose up and came out, having bidden them loose his hands and feet, and place food before him, saying, 'Eat, so that thou mayst speedily grow fat.' They did as Avicenna had directed and set food before him, and he ate. After that they gave him whatever draughts and drugs Avicenna prescribed, saying, 'Eat well, for this is a fine fattener for cows,' hearing which he would eat, in the hope that he might grow fat and they might kill him. So the physicians applied themselves vigorously to treating him as the minister had indicated, and in a month's time he completely recovered and was restored to health."

All wise men will perceive (As) that one cannot heal by such methods of treatment save by virtue of extreme excellence, perfect science, and unerring acumen<sup>1</sup>.

#### ANECDOTE XXXIX.

In the reign of Maliksháh and during part of the reign of Sanjar there was at Herát a philosopher named Adīb Isma'īl, a very great, learned and perfect man, who, however, derived his income and livelihood from his receipts as a physician<sup>2</sup>. By him many rare cures of this class were wrought.

One day he was passing through the sheep-slayers' market. A butcher was skinning a sheep, and from time to time he would thrust his hand into the sheep's belly, take out some of the warm fat, and eat it. Khwāja Isma'īl, noticing this, said to a

<sup>1</sup> This story also occurs in a versified form in Jāmi's *Silsilat al-Dhahab*. The text will be found in Note XXVIII at the end.

<sup>2</sup> This story in substantially the same form is told of Thābit ibn Qurra in al-Qisṭ's *Ta'rikh al-Iffuhād* (ed. Lippert), pp. 120-121, and in the *Tahqiqat al-Afā'id* of Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (ed. Cairo), vol. 1, pp. 216-217. From the account there given Mirzā Muḥammad has restored (in brackets) a sentence which has fallen out in the *Chahār Maqāl*.

green-grocer opposite him, "If at any time this butcher should die, inform me of it before they lay him in his grave." "Willingly," replied the green-grocer. When five or six months had elapsed, one morning it was rumoured abroad that such-and-such a butcher had died suddenly without any prémonitory illness. The green-grocer also went to offer his condolences. He found a number of people tearing their garments, while others were consumed with grief, for the dead man was young, and had little children. Then he remembered the words of Khwāja Isma'īl, and hastened to bear the intelligencé to him. Said the Khwāja, "He has been a long time in dying." Then he took his staff, went to the dead man's house, raised the sheet from the face of the corpse, [felt his pulse, and ordered some one to strike the soles of his feet with the staff. After a while he said to him, "It is enough." Then he] began to apply the remedies for apoplexy, and on the third day the dead man arose, and, though he remained paralytic, he lived for many years, and men were astonished, because that great man had foreseen that the man would be stricken by apoplexy.

#### ANECDOTE XL

The Shaykhul-Islām 'Abdu'llāh Anṣārī<sup>1</sup> (may God sanctify his spirit!) conceived a fanatical hatred of the above-mentioned man of science, (A\*) and several times attempted to do him an injury, and burned his books. Now this fanatical dislike arose from religious motives, for the people of Herāt believed that he could restore the dead to life, and this belief was injurious to the common people<sup>2</sup>.

Now, the Shaykh fell ill, and in the course of his illness developed a hiccough for the cure of which all the methods of treatment tried by the physicians availed nothing. They were in despair, and finally sent a sample of his urine to the Khwāja under the name of another, and requested him to prescribe. When Khwāja Isma'īl had inspected it, he said, "This is the urine of so-and-so, who has developed a hiccough which they are unable to cure. Bid him tell them to pound together an *istār*<sup>3</sup> of the skins of pistachio-kernels, and an *istār* of the sugar called *'askarī*, and administer [the mixture] to him, so that he may recover; and give him also this message: 'You should study science, and not burn books.'"

<sup>1</sup> Concerning this celebrated mystic see pp. 144-4 of the Persian notes, and Note XXXI at the end. He was born in A.H. 396 (A.D. 1006) and died in A.H. 481 (A.D. 1089). He was the author of numerous works, some of which are extant, including the well-known Persian quatrains in which he calls himself *Pir-i-Anṣārī*, *Pir-i-Herāt*, and *Anṣārī*. Though a mystic, he was a fanatical fauball.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of *عوام را*, the reading adopted in the text, B. and L. have *دعوی را*, "to [his own] pretensions."

<sup>3</sup> A weight consisting of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  mithqals.

So they made a powder of these two ingredients, and the patient ate it, and immediately the hiccough ceased, and the patient was relieved.

ANECDOTE XLI.

In the time of Galen one of the notables of Alexandria was attacked by pain in the finger-tips, and suffered great restlessness, being debarred from all repose. They informed Galen, who prescribed an unguent to be applied to his shoulders. As soon as they did as Galen commanded, the patient's pain ceased and he was cured. The physicians were astonished, and questioned Galen, saying, "What was [the rationale of] this treatment which thou didst adopt?" He replied, "The nerve which supplies the aching finger-tips has its origin in the shoulder. I treated the root and the branch was cured."

ANECDOTE XLII.<sup>1</sup>

Some traces of leprosy appeared on the chest of Faḍl ibn Yaḥyá al-Barmakí (the Barmecide), whereat he was greatly distressed, and put off going to the hot bath until night-time in order that no one might become aware of this. Then he assembled his courtiers and said, "Who is considered to-day the most skilful physician in 'Irâq, Khurásân, Syria and Pârs, (٨١) and who is most famous in this respect?" They replied, "Paul the Catholicos in Shîráz." He therefore sent a messenger and brought the Catholicos from Pârs to Baghdád. Then he sat with him privately, and by way of proving him said, "There is something amiss with my foot; you must devise some treatment for it." The Catholicos said, "You must abstain from all milky foods and pickles and eat pea-soup with the flesh of chickens a year old, with sweets made of the yolk of eggs with honey. When the arrangements for this diet have been completely established, I will prescribe the proper drugs." "I will do so," said Faḍl; but that night he ate everything, according to his custom. They had prepared thick broth flavoured with caraway seed, all of which he consumed; neither did he abstain from highly-flavoured relishes or spiced beans cooked in oil<sup>2</sup>.

Next day the Catholicos came and asked to inspect the patient's urine. When he looked at it his face flushed, and he said, "I cannot treat this case. I forbade thee pickles and milky foods, but thou dost partake of caraway broth and dost not

<sup>1</sup> This anecdote occurs only in C., but is given in the printed text, which is based on that MS.

<sup>2</sup> The description of these dishes, so far as it goes, is given on p. ٢٠٨ of the Persian notes.

avoid relishes and preserves<sup>1</sup>, so that the treatment cannot succeed." Then Faḍl ibn Yahyá applauded the acumen and discernment of that great man, and revealed to him his real complaint, saying, "It was for this that I summoned thee, and what I did was for a proof."

Then the Catholikos applied himself to the treatment of the case, and did all that was possible in this matter. When some time had elapsed and there was no improvement, the Catholikos writhed inwardly, for this had appeared no great matter, yet it was thus protracted. At last one day when he was sitting with Faḍl ibn Yahyá, he said, "Honoured Sir, I have tried every available remedy without effect. Perchance thy father is displeased with thee. Satisfy him, and I will remove this disease from thee."

So that night Faḍl arose, went to [his father] Yahyá, fell at his feet, and asked for his forgiveness. His old father forgave him, [and the Catholikos continued to treat him after the same sort as before, and he began to improve, and ere long was completely cured].

Then Faḍl asked the Catholikos, "How didst thou know that the cause of my complaint was my father's displeasure?" The Catholikos answered, "I tried every known remedy without effect. So I said to myself, 'This great man has received a blow from some quarter.' (av) I looked about, but could find no one who lay down at night dissatisfied and afflicted through thee; on the contrary, many were those who lived in comfort through thy alms, gifts and marks of favour. At length I was informed that thy father was vexed with thee, and that there had been an altercation between thee and him, and I knew that [thine ailment] arose from this. So I adopted this treatment and it passed away, and my conjecture was not at fault."

After this Faḍl ibn Yahyá enriched the Catholikos and sent him back to Párs.

#### ANECDOTE XLIII.

In the year A.H. 547 (= A.D. 1152-3)<sup>2</sup>, when a battle took place at the gates of Awba<sup>3</sup> between the King of the World Sanjar ibn Maliksháh and my master 'Alá'u'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín al-Husayn ibn al-Husayn (may God immortalise their reigns and domains!), and the Ghúrid army sustained so grievous a reverse, I wandered about Herát in the guise of a fugitive, because I was connected with the House of Ghúr, against whom enemies uttered all

<sup>1</sup> For the meaning of *anbaját* (pl. of *anba* or *anbaja*), see p. 101 of the Persian notes.

<sup>2</sup> L. has "447," both in figures and writing, an evident error, since Sanjar reigned A.H. 511-552, and 'Alá'u'd-Dín Husayn "Jahán-súz" A.H. 544-556. A. omits the figures, and only has "in the year forty-seven."

<sup>3</sup> See p. 74 *supra* and note 3 *ad calc.*

manner of railing accusations, rejoicing malignantly over their reverse. In the midst of this state of things, I chanced one night to be in the house of a certain great man. When we had eaten bread, I went out to satisfy a need. That nobleman by reason of whom I came to be there happened to praise me during my absence, saying, "Men know him as a poet, but, apart from his skill in poetry, he is a man of great attainments, well skilled in astrology, medicine, polite letter-writing, and other accomplishments."

When I returned to the company, the master of the house shewed me increased respect, as do those who are in need of some favour, and in a little while came and sat by me, and said, "O so-and-so, I have one only daughter, and, save her, no other near relative, and she is my treasure. Lately she has fallen a victim to a malady such that during the days of her monthly courses ten or fifteen maunds<sup>1</sup> of sanguineous matter come from her, and she is greatly weakened. We have consulted the physicians, several of whom have treated her, but it has availed nothing, for if this issue be checked, she is attacked with pain and swelling in the stomach, and if it be encouraged, it is increased in amount, and she is much weakened, so that I fear lest her strength may wholly fail." "Send me word," said I, "when next this state occurs."

When (AA) ten days had passed, the patient's mother came to fetch me, and brought her daughter to me. I saw a girl very comely, but despairing of life and stricken with terror. She at once fell at my feet, saying, "O my father! For God's sake help me, for I am young, and have not yet seen the world." The tears sprang to my eyes, and I said, "Be of good cheer, this is an easy matter." Then I placed my fingers on her pulse, and found it strong, and her colour and complexion normal, while most of the ten indications were present, such as a robust habit of body, a strong constitution, a healthy temperament, a clear complexion, a favourable age, season and climate, suitable habit, propitious accessories and skill. Then I summoned a phlebotomist and bade him open the basilic vein in both her arms; and I sent away all the women. The bad blood continued to flow, and, by pressure and manipulation, I took from her a thousand *dirhams*<sup>2</sup> weight of blood, so that she fell down in a swoon. Then I bade them bring fire, and prepared roasted meat beside her, and put a fowl on the spit, until the house was filled with the steam of the roasting meat, and it entered her nostrils. Then she came to her senses, moved, groaned, and asked for a drink. Then I prepared for her a gentle stimulant agreeable to her taste, and treated her for a week until the loss of blood was

<sup>1</sup> B. has *str.*



made good, and that illness passed away, and her monthly courses resumed their normal condition. And I called her my daughter, and she called me her father, and to-day she is to me as my other children.

### CONCLUSION.

My purpose in composing this treatise and inditing this discourse is not to flaunt my merits or recall my services, but rather to guide the beginner, and also to glorify my master, the august, divinely favoured, triumphant and victorious King Husámu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín, defender of Islám and the Muslims, Lord of hosts in the worlds, pride of kings and sovereigns, exterminator of heathens and infidels, subduer of heretics and innovators, guardian of the days, protector of the people, forearm of the Caliphate, beauty of the church, glory of the state, organizer of the Arabs and Persians, noblest of the world, *Shamsu'l-Ma'ádt, Malíku'l-Umard, Abu'l-Hasan 'Alí ibn (AA) Mas'úd ibnu'l-Husayn Nasíru Amírí'l-Mu'mínín* (may God continue his glory and increase his progress in prosperity!), by whose high station the Kingly Function is magnified, and for whose service Fortune hastens!

May God (blessed and exalted is He!) continue to embellish the Empire with his beauty, and the Kingdom with his perfection! May the eyes of my Lord's son, that divinely aided, victorious and triumphant Prince *Shamsu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín* be brightened by his excellent conduct and heart! May the Divine Protection and Royal Favour be as a buckler to the majestic statures and virtuous forms of both! And may the heart of my Lord and Benefactor, that august, learned, just, divinely-aided, victorious and triumphant King *Fakhrú'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín, Bahá'u'l-Islám wa'l-Mu'slimín*, King of the kings of the Mountains, be gladdened, not for a period but for ever, by the continuance of both<sup>1</sup>!

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the House of Shansab or Kings of Ghúr and their genealogy, see Note I at the end. Fakhrú'd-Dín Mas'úd, whom the author praises in the concluding sentence of his book, was the first of the Kings of Bámiyán and the father of Shamsu'd-Dín Mahanumal and Husámu'd-Dín Abu'l-Hasan 'Alí, of whom the latter was our author's special patron.

FINIS.

## NOTES

Mirzá Muḥammad has elucidated his critical edition of the *Chahār Maqdā* by copious, and valuable Persian notes following the text (pp. ۱۰-۲۰۱). Instead of translating them *in extenso*, it has seemed better to incorporate the shorter ones as footnotes on the pages to which they refer, and to distribute the longer ones, with considerable rearrangement and condensation, under the topics of which they treat. A little fresh matter has been added by the translator, especially in the Fourth Discourse dealing with Medicine, and a great deal more by Mirzá Muḥammad, who carefully read and richly annotated the proofs in slip. For the astrological notes (XXIV and XXXII) contributed by Mr Ralph Shirley and Mr W. Gornold the translator desires to express his deep gratitude.



## NOTES

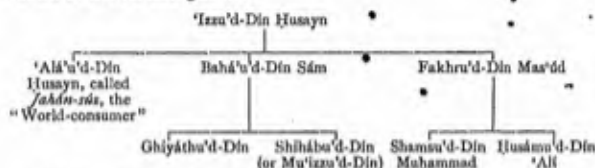
### I. The Dynasty of Ghūr or House of Shansab.

(Text, pp. 1-2; Persian notes, pp. 90-2.)

The kings of Ghūr, under whose patronage our author flourished, claimed descent from Dabḥāk (Dahāk, Azhidahāka) the legendary tyrant of ancient Persia, who, after a reign of a thousand years, was finally overthrown by Fīrūdūn. Shansab, the more proximate ancestor from whom they derived their name, is said to have been contemporary with the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, to have accepted Islām at his hands, and to have received from him a standard and recognition of his rule. It was a source of pride to the family that during the Umayyad period they refused to conform to the order for the public cursing in the pulpits of the House of 'Alī.

Our principal source of information concerning this dynasty is the *Tabagdt-i-Nāṣiri*<sup>1</sup>, but the history of Herāt entitled *Rawḍatu'l-Jannāt* by Mu'īnu'd-Dīn of Isfīzār also contains a pretty full account of them. This, however, was composed nearly three centuries later (in the latter part of the fifteenth century), and, moreover, exists only in manuscript.

The independent sway of the House of Shansab endured only about 67 years (A.D. 1148-1215)<sup>2</sup>, from the time when they shook off the yoke of the House of Ghazna to the time when they succumbed to the power of the Khwārazmshāhs. They were divided into two branches, who ruled respectively over Ghūr with their capital at Fīrūz-kūh, and over Tukhāristān with their capital at Bāmiyān. The relationship existing between the chief members of the dynasty mentioned in this book is shewn in the following table.



Of these 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Husayn of Fīrūz-kūh was the most powerful and important, and raised the glory of his House to its highest point. To avenge the death of his two brothers Qutbu'd-Dīn Muḥammad and Sayfu'd-Dīn Sūrī he made war on Bahrāmshāh, entered and occupied his capital Ghazna, and looted, massacred and burned it for seven days, thus earning the title of *fahdn-sūs*, the "World-consumer." He reigned from A.H. 545 to 556 (A.D. 1150-1161).

<sup>1</sup> Published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, and translated by Major H. G. Raverty with copious notes. Sections xvii-xix (pp. 300-307) of vol. I of the translation are devoted to this dynasty.

<sup>2</sup> See Stanley Lane-Poole's *Mohammedan Dynasties*, pp. 291-294.

Fakhrü'd-Din Mas'ûd, first of the Bâmiyân line, brother of Husayn *Jahân-shâh* and father of our author's special patron Husâmp'd-Din 'Alî, outlived the year 558/1163, in which, according to the *Tabaqât-i-Nâsiri*, he made war on his nephews Ghiyâthu'd-Din and Shihâb [or Mu'izz]u'd-Din. The title *Malikü'l-Jibâl* ("King of the Mountains") given to him in the text was common to all the rulers of this dynasty.

Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad, son of the above-mentioned Fakhrü'd-Din and second of the Bâmiyân line, survived at any rate until the year 586/1195, when he aided his cousins Ghiyâthu'd-Din and Shihâb [or Mu'izz]u'd-Din in their struggle against Sultân-shâh ibn Ilarslân ibn Atsiz Khwârazm-shâh<sup>1</sup>.

Husâmu'd-Din Abu'l-Hasan 'Alî, brother of the above-mentioned Shamsu'd-Din, was our author's patron to whom the *Chahâr Maqala* is dedicated, and who must therefore have been living in 551-2/1156-7 when it was written. He is only mentioned in the *Tabaqât-i-Nâsiri* (p. 104) amongst the children of Fakhrü'd-Din Mas'ûd, and further particulars of his life are lacking.

## II. The meaning of Tamghâj or Tapghâch.

(Text, p. 9; Persian notes, pp. 92-4.)

Tamghâj is generally explained as the name of a city or district in China or Chinese Turkistân. In illustration of this view Mîrzâ Muḥammad cites three passages from Arabic writers and some verses by the Persian poet Mukhtârî. An-Nasawî, the biographer of Sultân Jalâlu'd-Din Khwârazm-shâh<sup>2</sup>, says that it is the custom of the Great Khân to spend the summer "in Tamghâj, which is the centre of China, and its environs"; and this statement is quoted by Abu'l-Fidâ (who, however, writes the word Tûmghâj or Tûmkhâj) in his Geography. Al-Qazwîni in his *Âthâr-i-Bild*<sup>3</sup> describes Tamghâj as "a great and famous city in the land of the Turks, comprising many villages lying between two mountains in a narrow defile by which only they can be approached." Finally Mukhtârî of Ghazna, in the course of a panegyric on Arslân Khân of the Khâniyya dynasty of Transoxiana, speaks of "nimble Tamghâjî minstrels, quick at repartee."

It seems possible, however, that Tamghâj and Tapghâch<sup>4</sup> are merely variants of the Eastern Turkish word *Tapghâch*, meaning "worshipful," "renowned," and used repeatedly in the sense of "Chinese" in the Orkhon inscriptions of the eighth century of our era. In this case the title "Tamghâj (or Tapghâch) Khân" commonly assumed by rulers of the Khâniyya dynasty really signifies "the worshipful Khân," not "the Khân of Tamghâj"; and the prevalent belief that there was a country called Tamghâj arose from a misunderstanding, and from a false analogy with such titles as Khwârazm-shâh, which does actually mean "King of Khwârazm." Mîrzâ Muḥammad, however, in a lengthy and learned

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Calcutta, pp. 29 et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Abu'l-Athîr (ed. Tornberg), xlii, 28; *Tabaqât-i-Nâsiri*, p. 52; *Lubdûn-i-Albâb* (ed. Browne), i, 322.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Houdon, pp. 4-5.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 275.

<sup>5</sup> For this form see the Persian notes to the text, pp. 151, l. 3, 189, l. 12, etc.

note which he has been good enough to send me, proves that the name Tamghāj was applied by early Muhammadan writers to a definite and real city, identified by him on the strongest evidence with Khān Bāligh ("Cambaluc") or Pekin, also called چوبندو ("the Middle Capital") and دایندو ("the Great Capital").

See also F. W. K. Müller's *Uigurica I* (Berlin, 1908), p. 13, n. 1 *ad calc.*

### III. Writers adduced as models of style.

(Text, p. 13; Persian notes, pp. 95-104.)

The Šāhib Abu'l-Qāsim Isma'īl ibn 'Abbād at-Tālaqānī died in 385/975-6. Yāqūt, who consecrates a long notice to him in his *Irshād al-Arib*, or "Dictionary of Learned Men", says that there are two places called Tālaqān, one in Khurāsān, and the other, from which the Šāhib came, between Qazwīn and Abhar. Mīrzā Muḥammad, however, in a long manuscript note on this passage, proves conclusively that he was a native of Isfahān.

Shamsu'l-Ma'ālī Qābūs ibn Washmgīr ibn Ziyār, Prince of Tabaristān, was put to death by his son Mīndchīhr and nobles in 403/1012-3. Of him also Yāqūt gives a fairly lengthy notice<sup>1</sup>. He corresponded with the Šāhib above mentioned, and was very celebrated for his skill in this form of composition. Many of his letters were collected by Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Yazdādī, and extracts are given by Muḥammad ibn Isfandiyār in his *History of Tabaristān* as well as by Yāqūt. I have recently acquired a MS. of Yazdādī's compilation entitled *Kamdu'l-Balāgha* (the "Perfection of Eloquence").

Abu'l-Faraj Qudāma ibn Ja'far ibn Qudāma ibn Ziyād al-Baghdādī was born and brought up a Christian, but was converted to Islām by the Caliph al-Muktafi, and died in 337/948-9. A short notice of him also occurs in Yāqūt's *Irshād*<sup>2</sup>, where some dozen of his works are enumerated, of which three, the *Kitābu'l-Kharāj*, the *Naḡdu 'n-Nathr* and the *Kitābu'sh-Shī'r* are noticed by Brockelmann (vol. i, p. 228). Ḥarīrī mentions him in his *Maqāmāt* as a model of eloquence.

The *Maqāmāt-i-Hamīdī* were composed in 551/1156-7 by the Qādī Abū Bakr 'Umar ibn Maḥmūd, entitled Hamīdu'd-Dīn al-Maḥmūdī al-Balkhī, who died in 559/1163-4. This work has been lithographed at Kānpūr (Cawnpore) in 1268/1851-2, and at Tīhrān in 1290/1873-4. There is a very fine MS. of the 13th century of the Christian era in the British Museum (Add. 7620).

The mention of the *Maqāmāt* of Hamīdī in this place is of great importance in fixing the date of composition of the *Chahār Maqāla* as posterior to 551/1156-7, for since Sulṭān Sanjar, who is repeatedly (*e.g.* pp. 40 and 87 of the text) referred to as still living, died in 552/1157-8, it is evident that this date lies between these two limits (A.H. 551-552; A.D. 1156-1157).

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii, pp. 273-343 of Prof. D. S. Margoliouth's edition in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series (vi, 2, London, Luzac and Co., 1909).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. vi, pp. 143-152.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. vi, pp. 203-205.

Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'llāh at-Tamīmī al-Bal'amī was minister to the Sāmānī Kipg Maṣṣūr I ibn Nūh ibn Naṣr (reigned A.H. 350-366; A.D. 961-976), for whom he translated Tabarī's great history from Arabic into Persian. This Persian version was lithographed at Lucknow in 1291/1874 (800 pages), and a French translation of it by Hermann Zotenberg was published in Paris in four volumes (1867-1874). This Bal'amī (Abū 'Alī) is often confused with his father Abū'l-Faḍl, who also bore the name of Muḥammad, was minister to Isma'īl the Sāmānī, and died in 329/940-1, while the son, with whom we are here concerned, died in 386/996. Bal'am, from which both derive their *nisba*, is said to be a town in Asia Minor. See Sam'ānī's *Ansāb* (Gibb Series, vol. xx, f. 90<sup>a</sup>), where, however, an alternative statement represents Bal'am as a district in the village of Balāshjird near Merv.

Aḥmad ibnu'l-Ḥasan al-Maymandī, entitled Shamsu'l-Kufāt, was for twenty years minister to Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna and his son Ma'sūd, and died in 424/1033. He was a noted stylist, and caused all official documents to be written in Arabic, not, as had previously been the case, in Persian. His biography is given by al-'Utbi, Abū'l-Faḍl Bayhaqī, 'Aḥḥī in his *Lubābu'l-Alḥāb*, Ibnū'l-Athīr, the *Atharū'l-Wuzarā* of Sayfū'd-Dīn al-'Aqill and the *Dastūrū'l-Wuzarā* of Khwāndamīr. For the references see the footnotes on pp. 98-9 of the Persian text.

Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Muḥammad al-Kundurī, entitled 'Amīdu'l-Mulk, was for a long while Prime Minister to the Saljūqs Tughril Beg and Alp Arslān, and was finally put to death at the instigation of his yet more celebrated successor the Nizāmū'l-Mulk in 456/1064, or, according to Sam'ānī (*Ansāb*, f. 488<sup>b</sup>), about 460/1067-8.

Muḥammad [ibn] 'Abduh is mentioned again on p. 24 of the text as one of the secretaries of Bughrā Khān of the Khāniyya (Turkish) dynasty of Transoxiana. He flourished in the latter part of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries of the *hijra*, and his poems are frequently cited in evidence by Rashīdu'd-Dīn Waṭwāt in his *Ḥaddīqu's-Sifr*, or "Gardens of Magic," a well-known work on Rhetoric.

The 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd here mentioned is probably 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd ibn Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd, who was secretary to Marwān II, the last Umayyad Caliph (A.H. 127-132; A.D. 744-750), and perished with his master in the year last mentioned. It is he to whom allusion is made in the Arabic proverb: "The art of polite letter-writing opened with 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd and closed with Ibnū'l-'Amīd."

By the Sayyidu'r-Ru'asā it is almost certain that allusion is made to Abū'l-Maḥāsīn Muḥammad ibn Faḍlu'llāh ibn Muḥammad, who bore this title, and who was one of Malikshāh's under-secretaries and favourites. He was subordinate to Sharafu'l-Mulk Abū Sa'd Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Muḥammad, his chief in the same Ministry, and both were notable secretaries and officials of the Saljūq dynasty. See al-Bundārī's *History of the Saljūqs* (ed. Houtsma), p. 59.

Ibn 'Abbādī, called by Ibnu'l Athīr (ed. Tornberg, xi, 77, 78, 88, 103) "the Preacher" (*al Wā'il*), died at 'Askar Mukram in Rabī' ii, 547 (July, 1152). See Ibn Khallikān (Cairo ed., iii, 539-540 = de Slane's translation, iii, 365-366). A long notice of his father Ardāshīr is given in the *Mirātū's-Zamān* sub anno 496 (A.D. 1102-3).

By Abīwardī is meant Abu'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Qurashī al-Umawī al-Abīwardī, a notable poet and philologist who died in 507/1113-4 at Isfahān. Yāqūt gives a long notice of him in his *Irshādū'l-Arīb* (ed. Margoliouth, vol. vi, pp. 341-358).

By Ghazzī is meant Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Yahyā ibn 'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī, a notable Arabic poet who travelled widely in Persia and sung the praises of the nobles of Khurāsān, where his poetry, as Ibn Khallikān informs us (de Slane's translation, vol. i, pp. 38-43), thus obtained a certain circulation. He died at Balkh in 524/1130. Rashīdū'd-Dīn Wāṣafī frequently quotes him in his *Ḥaddīqū's-Sīr*. There is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris a fine manuscript of his *Dīwān* (Fonds Arabe 3126) transcribed at Karkh, a quarter of Baghdad, in 590/1194. Other more eminent poets of Ghazza in Palestine bore the *nisba* al-Ghazzī, but this one, being nearly contemporary with our author and well known in Khurāsān, is to him the most famous.

Abu'l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Iskāfī of Nishāpūr, with whom Anecdotes II and III are concerned, completed his studies in his native town and at an early age entered the service of Abū 'Alī ibn Muḥtāj-i-Chaghānī, one of the Amīrs in the service of the House of Sāmān, who made him one of his chief secretaries and held him in high honour. He achieved a great reputation as a stylist, and repeated but unsuccessful attempts were made to secure his services at the Sāmānid Court at Bukhārā. Finally, in 334/945-6, his master Abū 'Alī rebelled against his over-lord Nūh I ibn Naṣr the Sāmānid, but was finally defeated near Bukhārā and compelled to flee to his own country. Amongst those of his followers who were taken prisoner was Iskāfī, whom Nūh imprisoned at Quhandiz near Bukhārā. Wishing to prove him and ascertain his real sentiments, Nūh caused a forged letter, couched in the most flattering terms and purporting to be from a certain notable at the Court, to be sent to him, the letter expressing a hope that he would enter the service of Abu'l-'Abbās i-Chaghānī, the brother of his late master Abū 'Alī. Iskāfī, possibly suspecting a snare, simply wrote at the foot of the letter in Arabic: "*O Lord! This prison is more acceptable to me than that whereunto they invite me*." When this was shewn to Amīr Nūh he was greatly delighted and at once released Iskāfī from prison, conferred on him a robe of honour, and made him chief assistant-secretary to Abū 'Abdu'llāh in the department of Foreign Correspondence, of which he subsequently became chief. When Amīr Nūh died in 343/954-5, his son and successor 'Abdu'l-Malik continued and even increased the honours conferred by Nūh on Iskāfī, who, however, did not long survive the opening of the new reign. His death was

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān* xii, 33.



mourned by many poets, including Hazîmî of Abîward, three of whose verses are quoted in the Persian notes (pp. 102-3). Tha'libî says in the *Yatimatn'd Dahr* (vol. iv, pp. 29-33) that Iskâfî had much greater skill in official than in private and friendly correspondence, and that, like the celebrated writer al-Jâhîz, he was as strong in prose as he was weak in verse.

There can be little doubt that the anecdote of the forged letter mentioned above forms the historical basis of a well-known story in the *Gulistan* of Sa'dî (ed. Platts, pp. 35-6; Book I, Story 25). The same anecdote is given by Yâqût in his notice of Iskâfî in the *Irshâdu'l-Arîb* (ed. Margoliouth, vol. v, pp. 329-331).

#### IV. Historical errors in Anecdote II.

(Text, pp. 13-15; Persian notes, pp. 103-105.)

This anecdote furnishes several striking instances of the glaring anachronisms and historical inaccuracies which too often deface the otherwise admirable work of our author.

(1) Iskâfî could not possibly have been secretary to Nûh II ibn Manşûr, who reigned from A.H. 366 to 387 (A.D. 976-997), since, as we have seen, he died soon after the accession of 'Abdu'l-Malik in 343/954-5. Nor can we suppose that we are confronted with a mere scribe's error as to the name of the reigning king, since the whole point of the story lies in the king's name being Nûh.

(2) Alptagîn died, according to different authorities, in 351/962-3, 352/963, or 354/965, while Nûh II ibn Manşûr did not ascend the throne until 366/976-7, so that to represent the former as living in the reign of the latter is an evident anachronism. The author has probably either confused this king with his father Manşûr I ibn Nûh (reigned from 350/961-2 until 366/976-7), against whom Alptagîn actually rebelled, and even conquered Ghazna (not Herât, as the author erroneously asserts); or (and this is perhaps more probable) has confused Alptagîn with Abû 'Alî Simjûr, who raised a formidable rebellion against Nûh II ibn Manşûr.

(3) It is true that in 383/993-4 the above-mentioned Nûh summoned Subuktagîn from Zâbulistân to help him, but not against Alptagîn, who at this date had been dead thirty years; and not in conjunction with but against Abû 'Alî Simjûr, who had long been in rebellion against him.

(4) It is almost certain that by "Abu'l-Hasan 'Alî ibn Muhtâj al-Kashânî...the Chief Chamberlain" our author means the famous general Amîr Abû 'Alî Ahmad ibn Muhtâj aṣ-Ṣaghânî (i.e. of Chaghaniyân), who, however, died in 344/955-6, i.e. 22 years before Nûh II succeeded to the throne, and 39 years before Subuktagîn led his army into Khurâsân in 383/993-4.

According to that great scholar Abû Rayhân al-Bîrûnî<sup>1</sup>, the occasion when this verse of the *Qur'ân* (xi, 34) was so aptly quoted was quite different, viz. by Abû Ahmad Khalaf ibn Ahmad the ruler of Sijistân

<sup>1</sup> *Al-Âthâr'u'l-Bâqîya* (ed. Sachau), p. 332.

(or Sistān) in reply to a threatening letter addressed to him by Nūḥ II ibn Maṣṣūr, the Sāmānid; and this is no doubt the correct version of the story, since al-Bīrdī was as remarkable for his accuracy as our author is for his carelessness, and, moreover, wrote more than a century and a half earlier.

### V. Historical errors in Anecdote III.

(Text, pp. 15-17; Persian notes, pp. 105-106.)

In this anecdote also our author is guilty of two historical errors.

(1) He supposes that Mākān's rebellion took place in the reign of Nūḥ II ibn Maṣṣūr, whereas it really occurred in the reign of his great-grandfather Naṣr II ibn Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl, and Mākān was defeated and killed in 329/940-1, some 37 years before Nūḥ's accession.

(2) The general who defeated Mākān was not Tāsh, as our author states, but the Anṣār Abū 'Alī Aḥmad ibn Muḥāj.

### VI. Anecdote V. The Ṣāḥib Isma'īl ibn 'Abbād.

(Text, pp. 17-18; Persian notes, pp. 107-109.)

The Ṣāḥib Isma'īl ibn 'Abbād is, as we have seen, described by the best authorities as "of Tālaqān" (*Tālaqānī*), not "of Ray" (*Rāzī*). Al-Māfarrahkī, author of a notable but rare history of Iṣfahān, claims him as a native of that city, and cites verses composed by him during a campaign in Jurjān which lend colour to this assertion<sup>1</sup>. Al-Māfarrahkī wrote his history between A.H. 465 and 485 (A.D. 1072-1092) in Arabic, and there is a MS. of it (Or. 3601) in the British Museum, while I possess another from the library of the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler. It was translated into Persian by Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'r-Riḍā al-Husaynī about 730/1329-30 and dedicated to Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Rashidu'd-Dīn Faḍlu'llāh. Of this Persian version (of which I have since myself obtained a MS. formerly in the possession of Sir A. Houtum-Schindler) I published an abridged translation with extracts in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1901, also obtainable as a separate reprint.

### VII. Fabrics and Materials mentioned in Anecdote VII.

(Text, pp. 19-21; Persian notes, pp. 110-111.)

Mirzā Muḥammad has kindly communicated to me the following shorter version of this anecdote from the *Kitābu'l-Kināya wa'l-Ta'rīf* of ath-Tha'ālībī (Berlin Arabic MS. No. 7337, Petermann II, 59, f. 146<sup>a</sup>), who wrote about a century and a half earlier than our author:

وَبُرْوَى أَنَّ هُورَانَ بَنَتَ الْحَسَنَ بْنِ سَهْلٍ لَمَّا رُقَّتْ إِلَى الْيَامُونِ حَاضَتْ  
مِنْ هَيْبَةِ الْخِلَافَةِ فِي غَيْرِ وَقْتِ الْحَيْضِ فَلَمَّا اخْلَا بِهَا الْيَامُونُ وَمَدَّ  
يَدَهُ إِلَى ثَغْيَتِهَا قَرَأَتْ أَتَى أَمْرُ اللَّهِ فَلَا تُسْتَعْلَمُونَ ففطن لها و تعجب  
مِنْ حُسْنِ كِتَابَتِهَا وَ آزَادَ إعْجَابَهَا بِهَا

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 103 *supra*.

Three of the precious fabrics mentioned in this story are included in the glossary added by Mīrzā Ḥabīb of Isfahān to his edition of the *Dīwān-i Albīnā* (Constantinople 1303/1885-6) of Niẓām-u'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Qārī of Yazd, the poet of clothes. *Aḥsā* "is called by the Franks 'satin'." *Aḥsān* is "a black brocade (*dībā*), like *dahlī* (a fine silken stuff) worn by the great for ostentation." *Nasīj* is "silk inwoven with gold." See Yule's *Marco Polo* (ed. 1875), vol. i, pp. 65, 67, 276 and 285.

Of the remainder the exact nature is more doubtful. Mīrzā Muḥammad makes the following remarks (notes, p. 110):

*Mumazzaj* appears to mean a garment made of gold 'mixed' with some other substance. This fabric is mentioned by Ibnū'l-Athīr *sub anno* 512/1118-9 (ed. Tornberg, vol. x, p. 382).

*Mīrddī* is some precious fabric of which the exact nature is not clear, but it is also mentioned, with the addition of the epithet *Rūmī* (Greek or of Asia Minor) in a quaint passage in al-Māfarrahī's History of Isfahān (see the last note), cited on p. 110 of the Persian notes, where a dying nobleman requests that his shroud shall be made of this material, not, as the bystanders suggest, of plain linen, because he is unwilling to appear before God less sumptuously clad than it had been his habit for sixty years to appear before his fellow-men.

On the nature of *Ma'dīnī* and *Matikī* no information is obtainable, nor on *Tamīm*, which the editor of the Tīhrān lithographed edition has seen fit to emend to *Tumam* (pl. of *Tumma*), meaning a handful of wool or hair plucked from a sheep or other animal, an emendation neither plausible nor appropriate to the context, although the aforesaid editor mentions it with especial pride and satisfaction in his concluding note.

#### VIII. Another historical error in Anecdote VIII.

(Text, pp. 21-2; Persian notes, p. 111.)

In this story the author has, according to Mīrzā Muḥammad, confused Sultān Mas'ūd with Sultān Sanjar, for all the historians agree that it was against the former, not the latter, member of the House of Saljūq that the Caliph al-Mustashīd marched forth from Baghdad. When the two armies met near Kirmānshāh most of the Caliph's troops deserted to Mas'ūd, and he himself was taken prisoner. On his arrival at Marāgha he fell a victim to the Assassins of Alamūt in 529/1134-5.

#### IX. The Gūr-Khān and the Qāra-Khitā'ī dynasty.

(Text, p. 22; Persian notes, pp. 112-113.)

The battle to which reference is here made took place in 536/1141-2, and is generally known as the Battle of Qatawān<sup>1</sup>, this place being a suburb or quarter of Samarqand. The Muslims are said to have lost 100,000 men (of whom 12,000 were "turbaned," i.e. belonged to the learned or clerical classes), and Sultān Sanjar's wife was taken prisoner. The power of this dynasty of unbelieving Turks, known as Qāra-Khitā'ī and Gūr-Khānī, which endured for more than eighty years, dates from this battle. They were finally overthrown by Sultān 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad in alliance with the Tartar Kūchluk Khān in 607/1210-11.

<sup>1</sup> See Ibnū'l-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), vol. xi, p. 57.

For more than two centuries which elapsed between the fall of the Sāmānid and the rise of the Mongol power there existed in Transoxiana a Muslim Turkish dynasty variously known as "Īlak-Khanī," "Khānī" and "Afrāsīyābī." These the Qāra-Khitā'is suffered to remain, only requiring of them the payment of tribute and the acceptance of a political resident (*Shahna*) at their Court. From most of the Khwārazm-shāhs also they received tribute until overthrown by them in 607/1210-11 as mentioned above.

This collapse of the Qāra-Khitā'i power proved, in fact, to be a great calamity for the Khwārazm-shāhs in particular and the Muslims in general, for thereby was broken down a barrier which had hitherto effectively protected them from the Mongols and other predatory heathens who dwelt further to the north and east, and so was prepared that great catastrophe which shortly afterwards laid waste the Muslim world; a fact emphasized by Ibnu'l-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, xii, p. 235) in a passage translated in the second volume of my *Literary History of Persia*, p. 430.

The word *Gūr-Khān*<sup>1</sup> (otherwise *Kūr-Khān*, *Kū-Khān*, *Ūr-Khān*, *Ūr-Khān* or *Or-Khān*) was a generic title of these Kings, not the proper name of any one of them. Ibnu'l-Athīr says: "Ku in the Chinese language is a title given to the greatest of their Kings, while *Khān* is a title of the Kings of the Turks, so that it [the compound *Kū-Khān*] means 'Greatest of Kings'." In the *Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gushāy* (vol. ii, p. 80) and in the *Tārīkh-i-Jahān-drā* also it is explained as *Khān-i-Khāndān*, i.e. "Khān of Khāns" or "Great Khān"; and on the same authority the name of this particular *Gūr-Khān* is said to have been Qūshqūn Tāyqū. Dr Babinger has kindly called my attention to a note on Ibn 'Arabshāh's explanation of *Gūr-Khān* by S. de Sacy in the *Mémoires de l'Académie* for 1822, p. 476.

#### X. Atmatigīn, Amīr Bayābānī and Ātōiz.

(Text, p. 22; Persian notes, p. 114.)

The correct form and signification of the first and second of these three names is uncertain, and the MSS. differ in their readings. The first has been found by Mīrzā Muḥammad in the History of Bukhārā of Muḥammad ibn Zafar ibn 'Umar, composed in 574/1178-9, only 38 years after the Battle of Qatāwān, but here also the MSS. differ, the British Museum MS. (Add. 2777, f. 28\*) having "Aymantigīn" or "Imantigīn," and the Bibliothèque Nationale MS. (Suppl. Pers. 1513, f. 23<sup>b</sup>) "Alstigīn." It is evidently one of the numerous Turkish names ending in *tigīn* (like Subuktigīn, Alptigīn, etc.) but the first element remains doubtful. The same uncertainty affects "the son of the Amīr Bayābānī, on whose identity no satisfactory light has yet been thrown."

<sup>1</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad cites two passages which show, by the word-plays wherein lies their point, that by the Persians at any rate the pronunciation *Gūr-Khān* was adopted. Khāqānī says:

له هر سنجر شېبېخون برد اول گورخان آخر

شېبېخون زد اجل تا گورخانه شد شېتانش

See also vol. ii, p. 93 of the *Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gushāy*:

و گورخان را گور خانان شد

The name *Átsiz*, also Turkish, is compounded of *dt* (Western Turkish *da*) "name," and the privative *siz* "without," and consequently means "nameless." According to Ibn Khallikán it was customary amongst the Turks when a man lost several sons in childhood to give this name, which was supposed to be a protection, to a newly-born son in the hope that he might survive.

# XI. The House of Burhán (*Al-i-Burhán*).

(Text, p. 22, *bis*; Persian notes, pp. 114-121.)

The "Sons of Burhán," or *Band Máza*, were one of the great families of Bukhára, celebrated for their splendour and bounty, and were hereditary leaders of the Hanafí school of Sunní doctrine which prevailed in Transoxiana. During the later Qará-Khitá'i period they held an almost regal position, and paid tribute to that dynasty. Qazwíní in his *Atháru'l-Bilád* (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 343), composed in 679/1275-6, mentions 'Umar ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azíz ibn Marwán as the head of the house in his time, and it still flourished in the reign of Uljáytd (Khudá-banda) the Mongol (A.H. 703-716; A.D. 1303-1316), after which all trace of it is lost. Mírzá Muḥammad has collected from various sources a mass of information about fourteen of the most eminent members of this family, which he embodied in the notes contributed by him to my edition of 'Awfi's *Lubbu'l-Alḥab* (vol. i, pp. 332-6), and which he has reproduced in his notes to the *Chahár Maqála*. These are as follows.

(1) The Imám Burhánu'd-Dín 'Abdu'l-'Azíz ibn Máza of Bukhára, the first member of the family to attain celebrity.

(2) His son Husámu'd-Dín 'Umar ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, born in Šafar 483 (April 1090) and put to death in 536/1141-2 after the Battle of Qaṭawán by the Gúr-Khán, as mentioned by our author, and hence called "the Martyr." See Ibn Quṭlúbugha's *Táju'l-Tarájim fi Tabaqáti'l-Hanafiya* (ed. Flügel, Leipzig, 1862), p. 34, No. 139, where five or six of his works are enumerated.

(3) Táju'l-Islám Aḥmad ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, who succeeded his brother above mentioned, is recorded by our author, and enjoyed the favour and confidence of the Gúr-Khán.

(4) Shamsu'd-Dín Šadr-i-Jahán Muḥammad, son of Husámu'd-Dín "the Martyr," who in 559/1163-4 saved Bukhára from being looted by the Qarluq Turks, and whose praises were sung by Sázaní in verses of which seven are given as a specimen on pp. 116-7 of the Persian notes.

(5) Šadr-u's-Sudúr Šadr-i-Jahán Burhánu'd-Dín 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, another son of Husámu'd-Dín "the Martyr," to whom Muḥammad ibn Zufar ibn 'Umar in 574/1178-9 dedicated his Persian version of an-Narshakhi's Arabic History of Bukhára, composed in 332/943-4 for the Sámánid King Nuḥ ibn Naṣr. Instances of his magnanimity and generosity are given by 'Awfi in his vast, but unfortunately unpublished, collection of stories, the *Jawámi'u'l-Hikdyát wa Lauḍu'u'r-Riwydyt*, of which two are given in the Persian notes (pp. 117-8).

(6) Burhānu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Tājū'l-Islām Aḥmad, author of the *Dhakhiratu'l-Fatāwā* (also called *adh-Dhakhiratu'l-Burhāniyya*) mentioned by Hājji Khalīfa.

(7-10) Burhānu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣadr-i-Jahān ibn Aḥmad, brother of the above; his two sons Malikū'l-Islām and 'Azizū'l-Islām, and another brother, Iftikhār-i-Jahān. The first of these four was practically King of Bukhārā and paid tribute to the Khitā'is, as indicated by a passage in an-Nasawī's Biography of Sulṭān Jalālu'd-Dīn Mankobirī<sup>1</sup>. In 603/1206-7, while on his way to Mecca, he was received with great respect at Baghdād, but on his return there, on account of his behaviour towards the pilgrims, he incurred such unpopularity that he earned for himself the nickname of *Ṣadr-i-Jahannam* (the "Chief" or "President of Hell"). In 613-614/1216-17, when 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh set out on his campaign against the Caliph an-Nāṣir li-Dīnillāh, as a precautionary measure he deported these four persons (Burhānu'd-Dīn Muḥammad and his brother and two sons) from Bukhārā to Khwārazm. Two years later (in 616/1219), when Khwārazmshāh's mother Turkān Khātūn decided to flee thence for fear of the Mongol advance, she put all four of them to death, together with other hostages resident at her capital<sup>2</sup>.

(11) Ṣadr-i-Jahān Sayfu'd-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'l-'Aziz (son of No. 5), who is repeatedly mentioned as still living in 'Awfi's *Lubdū'l-Albāb*, which was written in 618/1221.

(12) Burhānu'l-Islām Tājū'd-Dīn 'Umar ibn Mas'ūd ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdu'l-'Aziz ibn Māza (grandson of No. 3, nephew of Nos. 6, 7 and 8, and cousin of Nos. 9 and 10). He was one of the teachers and masters of 'Awfi, who makes mention of him also in the *Lubdūb* (ed. Browne, vol. i, pp. 169-174).

(13) Nizāmu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, son of the above, also mentioned by 'Awfi (i, 176), who spent some days with him at the town of Amīd<sup>3</sup> on the Oxus about 600/1203-4.

(14) Another Burhānu'd-Dīn (pedigree unspecified) is mentioned by 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Atā Malik-i-Juwaynī in connection with the rebellion of Tārābī in 636/1238-9<sup>4</sup>.

The latest historical reference to any member of this family occurs in the *Tārīkh-i-Jahān-drd* of the Qāḍī Aḥmad-i-Ghaffārī, who states that Ūljāytd (Khudā-banda, reigned A.D. 1303-1316) was impelled to embrace the Shī'a doctrine by his disgust at the unseemly altercations of two Sunni theologians of different schools, Khwāja 'Abdu'l-Malik the Shāfi'i, and Ṣadr-i-Jahān of Bukhārā the Ḥanafī. The title, place of

<sup>1</sup> This passage is cited in the Persian notes, p. 118, fourth line from the end to p. 119, l. 6. It occurs on pp. 23-4 of the edition of M. O. Houdas (Paris, 1891), and on pp. 41-2 of his French translation (Paris, 1895).

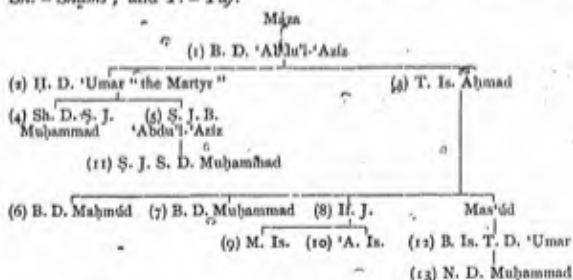
<sup>2</sup> *An-Nasawī* (ed. Houdas), p. 39 = pp. 66-7 of the French translation.

<sup>3</sup> See Yāqūt's *Mu'jamu'l-Buldān*, vol. i, pp. 69-70, and G. le Strange's *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 434. The town is also called *Amūd* by the Arabs, like the better-known town of that name in Māsandarān.

<sup>4</sup> See Mīrzā Muḥammad's edition of the *Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gushay*, vol. i, p. 88 ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, xvi, 1).

origin, and theological school of the last-named all point to the conclusion that he belonged to the *Al-i-Burhān*.

The following genealogical table indicates the relationship of the members of this family mentioned above. In each case the corresponding number is given for reference to what precedes, the proper name is given in full, and the title in an abbreviated form, where 'A. = 'Azīz; B. = *Burhān*; D. = *Dīn*; H. = *Husām*; If. = *Ifṭikhār*; Is. = *Islām*; J. = *Jahān*; M. = *Malik*; N. = *Niqām*; S. = *Sayf*; Š. = *Šadr*; Sh. = *Shams*; and T. = *Tāj*.



## XII. Bughrá Khán and Ílak Khán in Anecdote XI.

(Text, p. 24; Persian notes, pp. 121-3.)

Our author makes an error here in substituting the name of Bughrá Khán for that of Ílak Khán, who was Sultán Mahmūd's contemporary. Bughrá Khán was the first King known to history of the Afrásiyábi or Khání Turkish dynasty of Transoxiana. The origin of this dynasty and the period at which they embraced Islām is involved in obscurity. Bughrá Khán's proper name is said by Ibnu'l-Athír<sup>1</sup> to have been Hárūn ibn Sulaymán; but, by Ibn Khaldūn, Hárūn ibn Farrukhán (? Qará-Khán) 'Alī, and Sir Henry Howorth in his article on the *Afrásiyábi Turks*<sup>2</sup> prefers the latter; but as Bughrá Khán appears to have struck no coins, the question remains uncertain. Bughrá Khán was his Turkish title; his Islamic title (probably conferred by the Caliph) was Shihābu'd-Dawla. His territories marched with China and included most of Eastern Turkistán, with the cities of Káshghar and Balásághūn, which latter was his capital. He fought several campaigns against the Sámánid Kings, in the last of which he took their capital Bukhárā, but died on his homeward march in 383/993-4<sup>3</sup>, five or six years before Sultán Mahmūd ascended the throne of Ghazna.

He was succeeded by his nephew (or, according to Howorth, his brother) Ílak Khán, whose proper name appears to have been Násiru'l-Haqq Násr Ílak ibn 'Alī ibn Músá ibn Satuq, while his coins, bearing dates ranging from A.H. 390 to 400 (A.D. 1000 to 1010) were

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Tornberg, ix, 68.

<sup>2</sup> *J.R.A.S.* for 1898, pp. 467-502.

<sup>3</sup> Ibnu'l-Athír, *sub anno* (ed. Tornberg), ix, 70.

struck at Bukhara, Khujand, Farghana, Uzkand, Shaghaniyan, Samarqand, Ush and Ilak, i.e. in all the chief cities of Transoxiana and Turkistan'. He reigned for twenty years (A.H. 383-403 = A.D. 993-1013), overthrew the authority of the Samanids in Transoxiana, and quarrelled with Sultan Mahmud over the partition of their territories, which were finally divided between them.

### XIII. Ahmad ibn 'Abdu'llah al-Khujistani.

(Text, p. 26; Persian notes, pp. 123-4.)

Khujistan is a district dependent on Badghis and situated in the mountains of Herat. This Ahmad was originally an Amir in the service of the Tahirids, but on their collapse he joined the Saffarids, and finally exercised authority over the greater part of Khurasan. Finally he fought and defeated the Saffarid Amir ibn Layth at Nishapur, struck money in his own name, and was contemplating the conquest of Iraq, when he was murdered by some of his own servants after exercising more or less independent authority for eight years (A.H. 260-8; A.D. 874-82).

In the *Turkhi-i-Guzda*<sup>2</sup> Saman, the ancestor of the Samanid Kings, is represented as the person thus affected by these verses; but, apart from the improbability that Persian verse existed in his time, at any rate in the form in which it is known to us, Hanzala, the author of these verses, flourished under the Tahirid dynasty, of which the founder was contemporary with Asad the son of Saman.

### XIV. Poets and writers mentioned in Anecdote XII.

(Text, pp. 27-8; Persian notes, pp. 125-56.)

**Sallami.**—Abu 'Ali as-Sallami al-Bayhaqi of Nishapur died in 300/912-3. According to ath-Tha'alibi (*Yatima*, iv, 29) he was attached as secretary to Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn al-Mu'azzar ibn Muhtaj and his son Abu 'Ali Ahmad. He wrote many books, of which the most famous is the "history" referred to in the text, viz. the History of the Governors of Khurasan, which was used by Ibn Khallikan, especially in his notice of Ya'qub ibn Layth the Saffarid. A short notice of Sallami occurs in Ibn Funduq's History of Bayhaq, composed in 563/1167-8 in Persian, of which a good MS. (Or. 3587) exists in the British Museum. The text of this article is given in the original by Mirza Muhammad on p. 125 of the Persian notes.

**Sharif-i-Mujallidi of Gurgan.**—This poet is mentioned in 'Awfi's *Lubdb* (vol. i, pp. 13-14), where he is called Abu Sharif Ahmad ibn 'Ali, and where this same verse is cited.

**Rudaki (or -gi).**—One of the oldest and most authentic notices of this ancient and celebrated Persian poet occurs in the *Asudb* of Sam'ani<sup>3</sup>, who says that he derived his pen-name (*takhallus*) from his native place

<sup>1</sup> See Sir Henry Howorth's paper referred to in the last paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Jules Gantier (Paris, 1903), pp. 20-21; Gibb Memorial facsimile ed. (xiv, 1), p. 379.

<sup>3</sup> The text, given on pp. 125-6 of the Persian notes, occurs on f. 261<sup>r</sup> of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" edition (vol. xx, published in 1912).



Rūdāk, a district situated near Samarqand. His full name was Abd 'Abdu'llāh Ja'far ibn Muḥammad; he was "the first to produce good poetry in Persian," and he died in 329/940-1. See the late Dr Hermann Ethé's monumental paper *Rūdākī, der Sāmānīdendichter*<sup>1</sup>. The vocalization *Rawdhakī* also occurs, with the addition of the names of the poet's grandfather (Ḥakīm), great-grandfather ('Abdu'r-Rahmān), and great-great-grandfather (Ādam). See my *Hand-list of Muḥammadan Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1900), No. 701, pp. 125-6.

Abu'l-'Abbās as-Ribanjanī's full name was Faḍl ibn 'Abbās. See 'Awfi's *Lubb*, vol. ii, p. 9. Ribanjan (the correct reading is due to the late Professor de Goeje) is a city near Sughd and Samarqand, given by Yāqūt in the corrupt form "Rabaykhan." It is also mentioned in the *Ansab* of as-Sam'ānī (Gibb Series, vol. xx, ff. 23<sup>b</sup> and 248<sup>b</sup>) as *Arbinjan* and *Rabinjan*. Mīrzā Muḥammad has furnished me with a fresh reference to this Abu'l-'Abbās in the *Thimāri'l-Qulūb* (Cairo ed., p. 147) of ath-Tha'ālībī, where some Persian verses (a good deal corrupted in the printed text) from an unlucky *qaṣīda* which he composed on the occasion of a festival in the thirty-first and last year of the reign of his patron Naṣr ibn Aḥmad the Sāmānī (A.H. 331 = A.D. 942-3) are cited.

Abu'l-Mathal of Bukhārā is mentioned in the *Lubb* (ii, 26) and in Asadī's *Glossary* (ed. P. Horn, p. 28). The vocalization "Mathal" is proved by a verse of Mīndchihri's in which mention is made of ten old Persian poets, all of whom are identified by Mīrzā Muḥammad, who cites the verse (pp. 127-9 of the Persian notes). Of these the most interesting is Shāhīd of Balkh, who resembles 'Umar Khayyām in this, that his real fame as a philosopher has amongst his countrymen been eclipsed by his fame as a poet, though he was much more notable in the former than in the latter capacity. He is mentioned in the *Fihrist*, p. 299, as a doughty antagonist of Abū Bākr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā ar-Rāzī (the great physician), who wrote a treatise in refutation of some of his opinions. Yāqūt also mentions him in his article on *Jahūdhdnāk* near Balkh, the village in which he was born, while Tha'ālībī reckons him as one of the four greatest men produced by that ancient city. The correct reading in this last case is given in the Paris MS. of the *Yatimat'u'd-Dahr*; in the printed text it appears as "Sahl ibnu'l-Hasan" instead of "Shāhīd ibnu'l-Husayn." That he predeceased Rūdākī, who died in 329/940-1, is proved by a verse in which that poet laments his death. He is casually mentioned, as Mīrzā Muḥammad points out to me, in two passages in Yāqūt's "Dictionary of Learned Men" (Gibb Series, vi, 1, pp. 143 and 149), and an article on him was included in the lost fourth volume of this work. 'Awfi also relates a short and rather pointless story about him in the *Jawāmi'u'l-Hikdyāt* (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2676, f. 235<sup>b</sup>).

Abū Ishāq-i-Jūybārī's personal name, according to the *Lubb* (ii, 11) and Asadī's *Glossary* (p. 17), was Ibrāhīm, and his father's name was Muḥammad. The Jūybār from which he derived his *nisba* was apparently situated near Bukhārā.

<sup>1</sup> *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1873, pp. 663-742.

**Abu'l-Hasan Aghajī** was one of the nobles of the Sāmānid Court whose praises were sung by Daqlqī<sup>1</sup>. This celebrated poet, as appears from 'Awfī's *Lubāb* (i, 31-2) and Asadī's *Lughat* (p. 17), was contemporary with Nūḥ II ibn Maṣṣūr the Sāmānid, who reigned from A.H. 366 to 387 (A.D. 976-997). Aghajī's full name was Abu'l-Hasan, 'Alī ibn Ilyās al-Aghajī (or al-Aghjī) of Bukhārā. His title *Aghajī* (or one of its several variants) appears to be a Turkish word meaning a chamberlain or personal servant of a king, serving as an intermediary between him and his subjects<sup>2</sup>. There is a notice of him in ath-Tha'ālibī's Supplement<sup>3</sup> to his *Yatīmātū'd-Dahr*, from which we learn that he was fond of translating his own Persian verses into Arabic verse. How he understood the art of verse-translation may be seen by comparing the Persian verses in 'Awfī's *Lubāb*, i, 32, ll. 1-4 with the Arabic rendering on p. 130, ll. 5-6, of the Persian notes to the *Chahār Maqalla*.

About **Tahāwī** (so in all three MSS.) nothing is known<sup>4</sup>. For **Khabbāzī** of Nishāpūr, see 'Awfī's *Lubāb*, ii, 27, where, however, except that he is included amongst the poets of the Sāmānid period, no particulars are given. The modern *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣah* (i, 199) makes him a contemporary of Rūdayī, Kisā'i, etc., and gives the date of his death as A.H. 342 (A.D. 953-4), but on what authority is not stated.

**Abu'l-Hasan al-Kisā'i** was born, as stated by himself in one of his poems<sup>5</sup>, on Wednesday, Shawwāl 26, A.H. 341 (March 16, 953), and had attained the age of fifty when he wrote it. How much longer he lived is unknown. The late Dr Hermann Ethé wrote a valuable monograph on him (*Die Lieder des Kisa'i*) in the *Sitzungsberichte d. Münchener Akad. (philos.-philol. Classe)* for 1874, pp. 133-153.

**Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī Bahrāmī** of Sarakhs was not only a poet but composed several reputable works on Prosody and Rhyme, such as the *Ghāyatū'l-'Arūḍayn*, *Kanzu'l-Qaḍīya* and *Khuṣṣṣa*, often cited by Shams-i-Qays in his *Mu'jam fi Ma'dyirī As'ādrī'l-'Ajam*<sup>6</sup>. His date is not exactly known, and the statements of the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣah* (i, 173) tend rather to obscure than to elucidate it.

**Zīnatī**, called 'Alawī "the descendant of 'Alī," was one of the court poets of Ghazna under Sultān Maḥmūd and his son Mas'ūd, and is twice mentioned by Abu'l-Faḍl of Bayḥāq in his *Ta'rikh-i-Mas'ūdi* (Tihān ed., pp. 125 and 276) as receiving a handsome present for his verse.

<sup>1</sup> The only authority for this statement is the passage in 'Awfī's *Lubāb* cited in the next line, and, as Mirzā Muḥammad now thinks, it is not certain that it will bear so precise an interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> For the evidence for this see a note by Mirzā Muḥammad in my edition of 'Awfī's *Lubāb*, i, 297-8.

<sup>3</sup> There is a fine MS. of this *Yatīmāt*, or Supplement, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Fonds Arabes, 3308). Unfortunately it still remains unpublished.

<sup>4</sup> He is, perhaps, identical with the *Tukhārī* (or native of Tukhārīstān) mentioned in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣah* as Khabbāzī's contemporary.

<sup>5</sup> The first eight verses are cited in the Persian notes, pp. 131-2. The whole *gaṣida* is given in 'Awfī's *Lubāb*, ii, 38-9.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. x of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series.

The full name of Buzurjmihr of Qāyin was Amīr Abū Mansūr Qasīm ibn Ibrāhīm, and he flourished during the same period as the above-mentioned Zināfī. Abū Mansūr ath-Tha'ālībī mentions him in the *Tatimmat*<sup>1</sup>, or Supplement to his *Yatimat*<sup>2</sup> *d-Dahr*, as one of the bilingual poets, who wrote both in Arabic and Persian, and quotes some of his Arabic verses, including some very shrewd satires on a miser.

By Muzaḥḥarī is meant Muzaḥḥar of Panjdih (see 'Awfi's *Lubb*, ii, 63-65). Dr Paul Horn in his edition of Asadī's *Lughat* has misread "Marwī" (of Merv) as "Hirawī" (of Herāt), and has confused this poet with a later namesake who died in A.H. 728 (A.D. 1327-8).

The proper name of Manḥūrī was Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad of Samarqand (see 'Awfi's *Lubb*, ii, 44-46). He is mentioned by Rashidū'd-Dīn Waṭwāt in the *Ḥadā'iq*<sup>3</sup> *Sihr* as especially skilful in composing verses of the kind called *Mulawwan*, capable of being scanned in two or more metres.

Mas'ūdī was one of the court poets of Sultān Mas'ūd of Ghazna, whose anger he incurred, as we learn from Bayhaqī's history<sup>4</sup>, by some admonitory verses in which he (with a foresight justified by subsequent events) warned his sovereign against the growing power of the Saljūq Turks.

Qasārāmī was one of the panegyrists of Sultān Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd of Ghazna. He is mentioned by Asadī in his *Lughat* (p. 27). His name remains unexplained, nor is it known to what this *nisba* refers.

Abū Ḥanīfa-i-Iskāfī was one of the court poets of Sultān Ibrāhīm ibn Mas'ūd of Ghazna (reigned A.H. 451-492 = A.D. 1059-1099), and is repeatedly so described, in terms of the warmest eulogy, by Abū'l-Faḍl-i-Bayhaqī (ed. Tihān, pp. 276-281, 387-391 and 633-636). 'Awfi, therefore, can hardly be correct in including him amongst the poets of Sultān Sanjar the Saljūq (A.H. 511-552 = A.D. 1117-1157). The account of him given in the *Majma'ul-Fuṣṣḥā* is full of the most astonishing confusions and chronological errors, fully set forth by Mīrzā Muḥammad at the conclusion of his long note (pp. 136-140 of the Persian text) on this poet.

Rāshidī is not mentioned by any of the biographers, but somewhat detailed references are made to him by his contemporary and rival Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān (see below) in two of his *qaṣīdas* cited by Mīrzā Muḥammad in the Persian notes (pp. 140-142).

Abū'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī was a younger contemporary of the two poets above mentioned, for he survived into the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm's son Mas'ūd III (A.H. 492-508 = A.D. 1099-1114), so that the biographer Taḡiyyū'd-Dīn-i-Kāshī is evidently mistaken in placing his death in

<sup>1</sup> See p. 115 *supra*, n. 3 *ad calc.*

<sup>2</sup> Tihān lithographed ed., p. 601.

<sup>3</sup> This is the form given here and in 'Awfi's *Lubb* (ii, 173-6), but Abū'l-Faḍl Bayhaqī, his contemporary and friend, calls him "Iskāfī," which is probably the correct form. (*Ta'rīkh-i-Bayhaqī*, ed. Tihān, pp. 276-281.) Iskāfī, according to as-Sam'ānī, is a suburb of Baghdād, but, on the face of it, it is not likely that our Iskāfī can have been directly connected with that city.

A.H. 489 (A.D. 1096). Rūna, from which he took his *nishā*, was a place near Lahore, not, as asserted in the *Ta'rikh-i-Gusāda*, in Khāwarān of Khurāsān, nor, as the *Majma'ul-Fuqahā* states, near Nishāpūr.

**Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān.**—On this poet Mīrzā Muḥammad wrote a long critical notice, based on a careful study of his poems, which I translated into English and published in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1905 (pp. 693-740) and 1906 (pp. 11-51). The substance of this, which he has summarized in the Persian notes (pp. 142-150 and 178-182) to this text, is here given in a still more condensed form. The poet's family came originally from Hamadān in Persia, but he himself was born at Lahore, of which, in several passages in his poems, he speaks as his native place. Five Kings of the House of Ghazna were the objects of his panegyrics, to wit Ibrāhīm, Mas'ūd III, Shīrẓād, Arslān and Bahramshāh, whose reigns extended over a period of 96 lunar or 93 solar years (A.H. 451-547 = A.D. 1059-1152). His special patron was Sultān Ibrāhīm's son Maḥmūd, who was made governor of India in A.H. 469 (A.D. 1076-7), an event which the poet asserts to have been foreshadowed fifty years earlier by the great astronomer al-Bīrūnī in his *Tafhīm*<sup>1</sup>. This is the earliest date explicitly mentioned by Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd. He was probably born about A.H. 440 (A.D. 1048-9) and died about A.H. 515 (A.D. 1121-2). In A.H. 480 (A.D. 1087-8) he shared the suspicion and disgrace into which his master fell and was imprisoned in different fortresses for ten years. At the end of this period he was set free at the intercession of Abū'l-Qāsim, one of Sultān Ibrāhīm's courtiers, and returned to his father's estate in India. In A.H. 492 (A.D. 1098-9) Sultān Ibrāhīm died and was succeeded by his son Mas'ūd III, who conferred the government of India on his son Shīrẓād, with whom he sent, Qiwāmu'l-Mulk Abū Naṣr Hibatu'llāh of Pārs as commander-in-chief and adviser. This man, being an old friend of the poet, made him governor of Jālandar, a dependency of Lahore; but soon afterwards fell into disfavour in which his clients were involved, and Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd was again imprisoned in the fortress of Maranj for another period of eight or nine years. Finally, about A.H. 500 (A.D. 1106-7), he was released at the intercession of Thiqatu'l-Mulk Tāhīr ibn 'Alī ibn Mushkān. Being now sixty years of age and worn out by his long confinements, he retired from public life and spent the remainder of his days in seclusion. Many contemporary poets, such as 'Uthmān Mukhtārī of Ghazna, Mu'izzī and Sanā'ī (who first collected and edited his poetry) bear witness to his pre-eminence in their art.

Jamālud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Nāṣir al-'Alawī and his brother Sayyid Hasan ibn Nāṣir of Ghazna were two well-known poets of the court of Bahramshāh, as was also Shihābud-Dīn Shāh 'Alī Abū Rijā. See 'Awfī's *Lubdubul-Albab*, vol. ii, pp. 267-282.

There is a faint probability that Aḥmad-i-Khalaf may have been the son of Khalaf ibn Aḥmad, the ruler of Sistān, a probability enhanced by the fact that the latter bore the *kunya* of Abū Aḥmad, although there is no other record of the existence of such a son.

<sup>1</sup> See the verses from this interesting poem cited on pp. 144-5 of the Persian notes, and note 1 at the foot of the latter.

'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad Mukhtārī of Ghazna died in A.H. 544 (A.D. 1149-1150) or A.H. 554 (A.D. 1159). He was the panegyrist of Arslān and his brother and successor Bahramshāh of the House of Ghazna, whose reigns extended from A.H. 509-552 (A.D. 1115-1157); of Arslānshāh the Saljūq of Kirmān (A.H. 494-536 = A.D. 1100-1141); and of Arslān Khān Muḥammad of the Turkish Khāniyya dynasty of Transoxiana (A.H. 495-524 = A.D. 1101-1130). Mīrzā Muḥammad (p. 151 of the Persian notes) calls attention to some extraordinary chronological errors in the notice of this poet in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣḥā*, and some arbitrary alterations of the text of certain poems into which these errors have misled the author.

Abu'l-Majd Majdūd ibn Ādam as-Sanā'ī of Ghazna, the well-known mystical poet, author of the *Ḥadīqatu'l-Ḥaqīqa* and an extensive *Dīwān*, died, according to the most correct statement, in A.H. 545 (A.D. 1150-1). The date given by Jāmī in his *Nafahatu'l-Uns* (p. 697), viz. A.H. 525 (A.D. 1131), is certainly much too early, since Sanā'ī composed verses on the death of Mu'izzī, which took place in A.H. 542 (A.D. 1147-8).

Najībī of Farghāna (of whom further mention is made in Anecdote XIX) was one of the court poets of Khidr Khān ibn Taḡhāj Khān (of the Khāniyya dynasty of Transoxiana) who succeeded to the throne in A.H. 472 (A.D. 1079-1080) and died after a brief reign. 'Am'aq of Bukhārā, poet-laureate of the same king, died, according to Taqiyyu'd-Dīn of Kāshān, in A.H. 543 (A.D. 1148-9). Abū Muḥammad 'Abdu'llāh (or 'Abdu's-Sayyid) Rashīdī of Samarqand, Najjār-i-Sāgharjī (from Sāgharj, a village of Sughd), 'Alī Pānīdhī and Pīsar-i-Darghūsh were poets attached to the same court, of whom little or nothing is known.

Abu'l-Mahmūd Maḥmūd ibn 'Umār al-Jawharī (the Jeweller) as-Sā'ighī (the Goldsmith) of Herāt was contemporary with Farrukh-zād, Sultān of Ghazna (A.H. 444-451; A.D. 1052-9). A notice of him is given in 'Awfi's *Lubāb* (ii, 110-117).

The Dihqān 'Alī Shaṭranjī of Samarqand, another poet of Transoxiana, is said by the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣḥā* to have been a pupil of the celebrated satirist Sūzani, who died, according to Taqiyyu'd-Dīn of Kāshān, in A.H. 569 (A.D. 1173-4).

Manṣūr ibn 'Alī al-Mantiqī of Ray, whose verses are repeatedly cited in evidence by Rashīdu'd-Dīn Waṭwāt in his *Ḥaddīqu's-Sīhr*, was one of the poets attached to the Ṣāhib Isma'īl ibn 'Abbād (*Lubāb*, ii, 16-18).

Abū Zayd Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Ghaḍā'irī of Ray was a contemporary of 'Unṣurī and his circle, and died, according to the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣḥā*, in A.H. 426 (A.D. 1034-5). His *nisba*, Ghaḍā'irī, is explained<sup>1</sup> as meaning "potter," "tile-maker," *ghaḍā'ir* being the plural of *ghaḍāra*, a kind of sticky, greenish clay used for making pottery. The form Ghaḍā'irī (not Ghaḍārī, as the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣḥā* has it) is proved cor-

<sup>1</sup> See the *Anzab* of as-Sam'ānī (Gibb Series, vol. xx), l. 409b.

rect by verses of the poet himself and of his contemporary 'Unsuri (see Persian notes, p. 153). Mindchihri, it is true, uses the form Ghaḍāri, but apparently only from the requirements of his metre.

**Bundār** of Ray, chiefly notable for his *Fahlawiyyāt*, or verses in dialect<sup>1</sup>, was a contemporary of the Šāhib Isma'īl ibn 'Abbād and of Majdu'd-Dawla-i-Daylamī, and therefore flourished between A.H. 387 and 420 (A.D. 997 and 1029).

Though all the MSS. have **Farrukhī** of Gurgān it seems probable that it should be **Fakhrī**, i.e. Fakhrū'd-Dīn As'ad of Gurgān, author of the well-known romantic poem on the loves of Wās and Rāmīn. The only well-known Farrukhī, to whom Anecdote XV is devoted, was from Sīstān.

Abu'l-Hasan Muḥammad ibn Isma'īl al-Lāmi' al-Jurjānī ad-Dihistānī was one of the poets of Malikshāh the Saljūq and his celebrated Minister Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, and was the contemporary of Burhānī, the father of Mu'izzī.

"Bābā" Ja'far of Hamadān was a friend of Bābā Tāhir, and contemporary with Sulṭān Tughril the Saljūq. See vol. ii of my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, p. 260.

The only other mention of **Dur-Fīrūz-i-Fakhrī** at present noticed occurs in al-Māfarūkhī's "Beauties of Isfahān," composed in the fifth century of the *hijrī* (eleventh of the Christian era), where he is described as contemporary and is given the *kunya* of Abu'l-Faḍl.

'Abdu'l-Malik Burhānī of Nishāpūr, entitled *Amīru'sh-Shu'arā*, who died at Qazwīn early in the reign of Malikshāh, was the father of the more celebrated Mu'izzī, whose early struggles are described in Anecdote XVI and who was accidentally shot by Sulṭān Sanjar in A.H. 542 (A.D. 1147-8).

The Dih-Khudā **Abu'l-Ma'ālī** of Ray was the panegyrist of Mas'ūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh the Saljūq (reigned A.H. 527-547; A.D. 1133-1152), and died, according to the *Majma'u'l-Fuḥūd*, in A.H. 541 (A.D. 1146-7). See 'Awfi's *Lubdb*, ii, 228-236.

The Amīr 'Amīd Kamālu'd-Dīn of Bukhārā, known as **Kamālī**, was skilled in music as well as poetry, and was one of the favourites of Sulṭān Sanjar. See 'Awfi's *Lubdb*, i, 86-91.

By **Shihābī** Shihābu'd-Dīn Aḥmad ibnu'l-Mu'ayyad an-Nasafī as-Samarqandī appears to be meant. The *Majma'u'l-Fuḥūd* quotes several of his *qasīdas* in praise of Ruknu'd-Dīn Qilīj Tamghāj Khān Mas'ūd, of the Khāniyya dynasty, who reigned from A.H. 488-494 (A.D. 1095-1101).

Abu'l-Qāsim Ziyād ibn Muḥammad al-Qamarī al-Jurjānī was a contemporary of Shamsu'l-Ma'ālī Qābūs ibn Washmīr, who was killed in A.H. 403 (A.D. 1012-1013). See 'Awfi's *Lubdb*, ii, 19-20.

<sup>1</sup> See my edition of Dawlatahā, pp. 43-5; *Majdūsi'u'l-Mu'minīn* (Tihmīn lith. ed., A.H. 1268); *Ta'rīkh-i-Gusāds* (Gibb Series, xiv, 1), p. 816; and the *Mu'jam* of Shams-i-Qays (Gibb Series, x), pp. 145 and 146.

The only other mention of Rāfi' of Nīshāpūr occurs in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣah*, from which it appears that he was a contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna (A.H. 388-421; A.D. 998-1030).

### XV. The Vengeance of Sulṭān 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Husayn Jahān-sūz.

(Text, p. 29; Persian notes, pp. 156-9.)

By "those two Kings, the Prince-martyr and the Laudable Monarch" are meant Qutb'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Izzu'd-Dīn Husayn *Maliku'l-Jibāl* and his brother Sayfu'd-Dīn Sūrī, the brothers of Sulṭān 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Husayn. Qutb'u'd-Dīn, whose capital was Fīrūz-kūh, had quarrelled with his brothers and gone to Ghazna, where Bahramshāh at first treated him as an honoured guest, but subsequently, his suspicion being aroused by intriguers, poisoned him. Sayfu'd-Dīn on hearing this marched on Ghazna with a large army. Bahramshāh fled to India, and Sayfu'd-Dīn occupied the city, took possession of the throne, and soon disbanded a great part of his army. On the approach of winter, when the roads to Ghūr were blocked with snow and the arrival of reinforcements was impossible, Bahramshāh, at the instigation of his subjects, suddenly returned to Ghazna, took captive Sayfu'd-Dīn and his followers, and put them to death in the year A.H. 544 (A.D. 1149-1150).

Sulṭān 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Husayn, furious at the loss of a second brother, sent a threatening quatrain<sup>1</sup> to the Chief Judge of Ghazna, and, assembling a large army from Ghūr and Gharjistān, marched on Ghazna and proceeded to make good his threats. Having thrice defeated Bahramshāh and compelled him again to retire to India, he occupied Ghazna, and for seven days and nights gave it up to slaughter, pillage and destruction. He killed the men, took captive the women and children, and caused the bodies of all the Kings of Ghazna, except those of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Mas'ūd and Ibrāhīmī, to be exhumed and burned. During the seven days of massacre and pillage he was drinking and making merry in the Royal Palace of Ghazna, and at the end of this period, when he put a stop to the slaughter, he ordered his minstrels to sing some rather fine and spirited verses which he had composed for the occasion<sup>2</sup>. After spending another week in mourning for his brothers, he returned to Ghūr with their effects, destroying on his way all the fine buildings erected by Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna. On reaching Fīrūz-kūh he composed another fine but arrogant piece of poetry<sup>3</sup> which he bade his minstrels sing. These events took place in A.H. 545 (A.D. 1150-1), the year of his accession to the throne, or in the following year. Two or three years later, in A.H. 547 (A.D. 1152-3), he was himself defeated and taken prisoner at Awba near Herāt, by Sulṭān Sanjar the Saljūq, together with our author, who refers to this event in Anecdote XXXI.

The chief authority for the history of the Kings of Ghūr is the *Tabaqat-i-Nadiri* of the Qāḍī Minhāj'u'd-Dīn 'Uthmān ibn Sirāj'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad, who was their contemporary (born 589/1193 and survived the year 658/1260). This valuable history has been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series, but the late Major H. G. Raverty's English

<sup>1</sup> Persian notes, p. 157, ll. 7-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157, l. 18—p. 158, l. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158, l. 11—p. 159, l. 2.

translation (2 vols. containing lxiv+1296+xxvi+272 pp., London, 1881) is even more valuable, being based on a careful and extensive collation of fresh MSS., and furnished with numerous notes, critical, historical and geographical. The first six of the twenty-three sections comprised in the work are only given in brief epitome, but this is of little consequence, as they deal with matters which can be better studied in older Arabic histories.

### XVI. Notes on Anecdote XIII.

• (Text, pp. 31-4; Persian notes, p. 160.)

This anecdote about Rūdākī and his improvisation is very well known and occurs in nearly all the biographies of poets, but nowhere so fully as here. A very interesting point, to which I have elsewhere called attention<sup>1</sup>, is the wide divergence of opinion as to the merit of the verses existing between the author of this work and Dawlatshāh, who lived some three centuries later, indicating a complete change in the canons of taste during this period, and, it must be admitted, a change for the worse. The late Dr Hermann Ethé's monograph, published in the *Göttinger Nachrichten* for 1873 (pp. 663-742), remains the best and fullest account of Rūdākī, concerning whom some further particulars have already been given (pp. 113-114 *supra*).•

The true explanation of the name of the stream *Jū-yi-Mūliyān* has been discovered by Mirzā Muḥammad in Narshakhi's *History of Bukhārā*. This work, originally composed in Arabic in A.H. 332 (A.D. 943-4), was translated into Persian first by Abū Naṣr-i-Qabāwī in A.H. 522 (A.D. 1128), and again by Muḥammad ibn Zulfar in A.H. 574 (A.D. 1178-9). It is this second translation which was published at Paris in 1892 by the late M. Charles Schefer, and from which the information in question is derived. In a section entitled "Account of the *Jū-yi-Mūliyān* and its qualities" the author writes as follows<sup>2</sup>:

"In old times these estates of the *Jū-yi-Mūliyān* belonged to King Tughshāda, who gave a portion of them to each one of his sons and sons-in-law. Amir Isma'īl the Sāmānī (may God have mercy upon him!) bought these estates from Hasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Tālūt, who was a captain of [the Caliph] al-Musta'in ibn al-Mu'tasim, and made palaces and gardens in the *Jū-yi-Mūliyān*, most of which he conferred on the *Mawdils*<sup>3</sup>, and which are still endowments. His heart was always pre-occupied about his *Mawdils* (clients), until one day he was gazing from the fortifications of Bukhārā towards the *Jū-yi-Mūliyān*. His father's client, Sīmā'u'l-Kabīr, whom he greatly loved and held in high honour, was standing before him. Amir Isma'īl said, 'Will it ever be that God Most High will bring it to pass that I may buy these estates for you, and grant me life to see these estates yours, for they are of greater value than all the other estates of Bukhārā, and pleasanter and of better climate?' And God Most High vouchsafed to him to buy them all and give them to his *Mawdils*, so that the place was named *Jū-yi-Mawdilyān*, which was commonly called *Jū-yi-Mūliyān*."

<sup>1</sup> *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 16-17. See also my article on *The Sources of Dawlatshāh, etc.*, in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1899 (pp. 37-69).

<sup>2</sup> The original passage is quoted on p. 170 of the Persian notes.

<sup>3</sup> *Mawdil* being itself the plural of *Mawdil* (a client), *Mawdilyān*, a Persian plural of an Arabic plural, appears to be a solecism.



## XVII. Note on Anecdote XIV.

(Text, pp. 34-6; Persian notes, 161-2.)

'Alī ibn Qarīb, known as "the Great Chamberlain" (*Hajib-i-Buzurg*) was one of the principal nobles of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna. On the death of this monarch, he raised his younger son the Amīr Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad to the throne. A quarrel shortly arose between him and his brother Sulṭān Mas'ūd, who was then at Isfahān. The latter marched on Ghazna, and when he reached Herāt 'Alī ibn Qarīb deposed Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad and imprisoned him in the Castle of Kūshshir near Ghazna. On Dhū'l-Qa'da 3, A.H. 421 (Nov. 2, 1030) he waited at Herāt on Sulṭān Mas'ūd, who, however, seized him and his brother the Chamberlain Maṅkitārak and cast them both into prison, after which they were no more heard of.

## XVIII. Note on the House of Muḥtāj of Chaghāniyān.

(Text, p. 36; Persian notes, pp. 163-6.)

The noble and influential House of Muḥtāj, which had its home at Chaghāniyān in Transoxiana, produced many notable men during the Sāmānī and Ghaznawī periods. Concerning some of the most famous of these Mīrzā Muḥammad has collected from various sources the following particulars.

(1) Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibnū'l-Muẓaffar ibn Muḥtāj was given the chief command of the armies of Khurāsān by the Amīr Naṣr II ibn Aḥmad the Sāmānī in A.H. 321 (A.D. 933), which position he held until the latter part of his life, when, being attacked by a chronic illness, he resigned in favour of his son Abū 'Alī Aḥmad, died in A.H. 329 (A.D. 941), and was buried at Chaghāniyān.

(2) This son, Abū 'Alī Aḥmad, defeated and killed Mākān ibn Kākūy the Daylamī in A.H. 329 (A.D. 941), and it was on this occasion that the celebrated despatch of his secretary Abū'l-Qāsim Iskafī (alluded to in Anecdote III, pp. 16-18 *supra*) was penned. He extended the Sāmānīd authority over Jurjān, Ṭabaristān, Zanjān, and Kirmānshāh. In A.H. 333 (A.D. 944-5) the Amīr Nūḥ I ibn Naṣr II ibn Aḥmad dismissed him from the Government of Khurāsān, whereupon he rebelled, deposed the Amīr (who fled to Samarqand), overran Khurāsān, and captured Bukhārā. Finally in A.H. 344 (A.D. 955-6) he fell a victim to the plague at Ray and was buried with his father at Chaghāniyān.

(3) Abū'l-'Abbās Faḍl ibn Muḥammad, brother of the above, who appointed him in A.H. 333 (A.D. 944-5) Governor of the Jabal province (modern 'Irāq-i-'Ajam). He subdued Dīnawar and Nihāwand. When his brother rebelled against the Sāmānīds, as above mentioned, he supported them, in spite of which he incurred their suspicion in A.H. 336 (A.D. 947-8) and was imprisoned at Bukhārā, after which all future trace of him disappears.

(4) Abū'l-Muẓaffar 'Abdu'llāh ibn Aḥmad, son of No. 2, who, in A.H. 337 (A.D. 948-9), when his father made peace with Amīr Nūḥ I the Sāmānīd, was sent as a hostage to Bukhārā, where he dwelt as an honoured guest until he was killed by a fall from his horse in A.H. 340 (951-2), and was buried at Chaghāniyān.

(5) Abū Mansūr ibn Aḥmad, another son of No. 2, who appointed him Governor of Chaghāniyān in A.H. 340 (A.D. 951-2) when he himself was made Governor of Khurāsān.

(6) Abū'l-Muzaḥḥar Ṭāhir ibn Faḍl, nephew of No. 2 and son of No. 3, was Governor of Chaghāniyān until his death M. A.H. 377 (A.D. 987-8). He was himself a poet and a generous patron of poets, Manjik of Tirmidh being one of his *protégés*. See 'Awfi's *Lubāb*, i, pp. 27-29.

(7) Fakhr u'd-Dawla Abū'l-Muzaḥḥar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, the person to whom reference is here made in the *Chahār Maqāla*, is believed by Mirzā Muḥammad to have been a son or grandson of the above mentioned Abū 'Alī. Daqiqi preceded Farrukhi as his panegyrist, a fact to which the latter alludes in three verses not included in the portion of the *qaṣida* here quoted, but given on pp. 165-6 of the Persian notes.

Of Farrukhi's "admirable description of the poetic art" six verses, besides the one given in the text, are cited on p. 166 of the Persian notes. The editor's learned demonstration of the identity of *Khuttal* and *Khatidn*, of which place the former is the Arabic and the latter the Persian name, is mentioned in note 2 at the foot of p. 44 *supra*. The details of the proof must be sought in the Persian notes, pp. 166-8.

#### XIX. Note on Tughānshāh, and the arbitrary methods of some Persian editors.

(Text, p. 43; Persian notes, pp. 170-3.)

As pointed out in note 1 at the foot of p. 48 *supra*, this Tughānshāh the son of Alp Arslān the Saljūq is a totally different person from the Tughānshāh ibn Mu'ayyad Āy-Aba with whom the author of the *Majma' u'l-Fuṣṣḥā* and others have rashly identified him, regardless of the fact that Azraqi (as shewn by three conclusive proofs on p. 173 of the Persian notes) must have been dead long before the latter ascended the throne in A.H. 569 (A.D. 1173-4). The curious thing about the first Tughānshāh (the Saljūq, to whom reference is here made) is that he is not mentioned by any of the historians of this period<sup>1</sup> except our author Nizāmī of Samarqand in this passage and in 'Awfi's *Lubāb* (ii, 87-8), and nearly all that we know about him is derived from Azraqi's poems in his honour. The author of the *Majma' u'l-Fuṣṣḥā*, starting from the misconception to which allusion has been made, has deliberately and arbitrarily falsified the text of Azraqi's poems to make it support his erroneous theory, and has changed (vol. i, p. 145) "Tughānshāh ibn Muḥammad" into "Tughānshāh ibn Mu'ayyad." On these reprehensible methods Mirzā Muḥammad justly remarks (pp. 172-3 of the Persian notes *ad calc.*):—

"Such arbitrary emendations are not only an encouragement to ignorance, but a betrayal of the trust committed to us by men of yore. For it is evident that their books, compositions, writings and harangues are a precious heritage which our forefathers have bequeathed to us

<sup>1</sup> Dawlatshāh, Hājji Khalīfa and the *Haft Iqlīm* do, indeed, speak of an older Tughānshāh praised by Azraqi, but all the statements they make about him are incorrect. See the Persian notes, p. 177, second paragraph.

in trust, and which we in turn should transmit to our descendants untampered with and unaltered. For should it once be allowed that from the time of Firdawsī until now, a period of nearly a thousand years, everyone should emend the verses of the *Shāh-nāma* in accordance with his own whims and fancies, no trace or sign would now remain of this Royal Treasure, this Mine of Jewels and Coral, which constitutes the greatest literary glory of Persia, and is the guarantee of the perpetuation of our national tongue.

"I actually heard a certain Persian scholar in Paris say: 'My late father, besides having no rival in all sciences and accomplishments, possessed a special talent wherein no one could equal him. This was that any manuscript work of an ancient writer, from the beginning, end or middle of which some leaves had been lost, used to be given to my father, who, in the course of one or two nights, would supply the missing portion with a composition of his own in the same style and cast as the rest of the book, and would add it to the original; and it so closely resembled the other chapters and sections of the book that no scholar or savant could decide whether these leaves formed part of the original book or were an addition to it.'

"May God guide us into the Way of Rectitude!"

#### Note XX. Azraqī (Anecdote XVII).

(Text, p. 43; Persian notes, pp. 174-178.)

Abū Bakr Zaynu'd-Dīn ibn Isma'īl al-Warrāq ("the book-seller") of Herāt, poetically surnamed Azraqī, would appear from a verse in one of his poems (p. 174 of the Persian notes) to have borne the proper name of Ja'far. His father Isma'īl was the contemporary of Firdawsī, who, when he fled from Sāltān Maḥmūd's wrath, was for six months in hiding in his house at Herāt.

Most of Azraqī's panegyrics are in praise of two Saljuq princes, Tughānshāh ibn Alp Arslān, mentioned in the last note, and Amīrānshāh ibn Qāwurd. This Qāwurd was the first of the Saljuq rulers of Kirmān, but, as his son Amīrānshāh did not ascend the throne, the date of his death is not recorded, though he predeceased his brother Sultānshāh, who died A.H. 476 (A.D. 1083-4).

Taqiyyu'd-Dīn of Kāshān gives A.H. 527 (A.D. 1132-3) as the date of Azraqī's death, which, however, must have taken place at least forty years earlier. For in the first place 'Awfi says that "he was antecedent to Mu'izzi," and secondly he makes no mention in his poems of Malikshāh or Sanjar or their nobles and ministers, which omission would be almost inconceivable if he lived in their time. Thirdly, Azraqī's father was the contemporary of Firdawsī, who died sometime before A.H. 421 (A.D. 1030), and it is evidently extremely improbable that he could have had a son who was still living a century later. It is probable that Azraqī died before A.H. 465 (A.D. 1072-3).

Rashīdu'd-Dīn Wafwāt in his *Haddīqu's-Sihr* ("Gardens of Magic") criticizes Azraqī for his far-fetched and fantastic comparisons, and especially comparisons to non-existent things, so that, for example, he compares burning charcoal to a sea of musk with golden waves.

Hájji Khalífa and many of the biographers ascribe to Azraqi the *Sindibádd-náma* and the *Alfiyya wa Shalfiyya*. This is an error, for the former of these two books was of Persian or Indian origin, and was composed in pre-Islamic days, as clearly appears from the statements of Mas'údi in the *Muráju'at-sh-Shabab*<sup>1</sup> and of the *Fihrist*<sup>2</sup>. Of this *Sindibádd-náma* the Pahlawí text was extant in the time of the Amír Núh II ibn Maṣṣūr the Sámánid (A.H. 366-387; A.D. 976-997), by whose command it was translated into Persian by Khwāja 'Amid Abū'l-Fawāris-i-Qanāwazī, whose translation, however, appears to be entirely lost. This translation was, however, revised and re-edited in a more ornate form about A.H. 600 (A.D. 1203-4) by Bahá'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad... az-Zahírī of Samarqand, who was secretary to Sultān 'Amghāj Khān of the Khāniyya dynasty of Transoxiana. Of this recension one manuscript exists in the British Museum, from the preface of which Mirzá Muḥammad derived the information here given. It was apparently the older Persian prose translation of Qanāwazī which Azraqi versified or intended to versify; a task which he evidently found far from easy, for in a passage of a *qaṣida* addressed to Tughānshāh (quoted on p. 177 of the Persian notes) he says:—

"O Prince, whoever regards the counsels of Sindibād  
Knows well that to compose poetry thereon is difficult:  
I will render its ideas a help to learning  
If thy fortune, O King, helps my mind."

This versified translation of Azraqi, if ever completed, seems to have been entirely lost, though a later anonymous verse translation composed in A.H. 776 (A.D. 1374-5) is preserved in the India Office Library<sup>3</sup>. This, however, in Mirzá Muḥammad's opinion, is of very poor literary quality.

The *Alfiyya wa Shalfiyya* is another ancient book which existed long before Azraqi's time. The *Fihrist* mentions two recensions, a greater and a lesser; and the *Ta'rikh-i-Bayhāqī*<sup>4</sup> mentions a summer-house which Prince Mas'údi had built for himself secretly in the Bāgh-i-'Adnānī on the walls of which were painted the pictures illustrative of the *Alfiyya*. This book may have been versified or re-edited by Azraqi, but was certainly not his original work.

## NOTE XXI. Another instance of the Author's inaccuracy.

(Text, p. 45; Persian notes, pp. 182-4.)

It is an extraordinary and inexplicable thing that Nizāmī of Samarqand, in recounting what professes to be a personal reminiscence, should commit several grave historical and chronological errors. First, the real name and genealogy of Qutulmush were Shihāb-u-Dawla [not-Dīn] ibn Isrā'īl ibn Saljūq, and he was first cousin to Tughril, the first of the Great Saljūqs, and father of Sulaymān, the first of the Saljūqs of Rūm. In A.H. 456 (A.D. 1064) he rebelled against Tughril's nephew Alp Arslān and was killed in battle near Ray. Sultān Muḥammad, the grandson of Alp Arslān, was born in A.H. 473 (A.D. 1080-1), seventeen years after

<sup>1</sup> Ed. B. de Meynard, i, 16a and iv, 90.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr H. Eitel's *Catalogue*, No. 1236.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Flügel, pp. 304-5.

<sup>4</sup> Tihān ed., p. 116.

the death of Qutulmush, who therefore obviously could not have rebelled against him. *Secondly*, Qutulmush was not the son-in-law of Sultān Muḥammad, but the first cousin of his great-grandfather. *Thirdly*, the title of Qutulmush was Shihābu'd-Dawla, not Shihābu'd-Dīn. *Fourthly*, he did not bear the name Alp Ghāzi. *Fifthly*, the battle in which he was killed was near Ray, not Hamadān; and *sixthly*, it took place nearly a century before Nizāmī of Samarqand wrote the *Chahār Maqāla*.

We are driven to suppose that in this passage the original text has been tampered with. The real Alp Ghāzi was the nephew of Sultān Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad of Ghūr, and fell in battle with Sultān Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh near Herāt in A.H. 600 (A.D. 1203-4), fifty years after the *Chahār Maqāla* was written. There were two kings called Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, the one of Ghūr, mentioned immediately above, who died in A.H. 599 (A.D. 1202-3) and was actually related to the real Alp Ghāzi; and the other the grandson of Alp Arslān the Saljuq, to whom this anecdote refers, and who died in A.H. 511 (A.D. 1117-8).

## Note XXII. The Khāqānī, Khānī or Afrāsiyābī Kings.

(Text, p. 46; Persian notes, pp. 184-189.)

This Turkish Muslim dynasty, also called Īlak-Khānī, ruled for nearly 230 years (A.H. 380-609 = A.D. 990-1212) over Transoxiana, supplanting the Sāmānid and succumbing to the Khwārazmshāhī power. They were sometimes practically independent, while at other times they paid tribute to the Saljuqs, Qarā-Khitā'is or Khwārazmshāhs. Their history is confused and obscure, nor is it precisely known when their power arose or when they embraced Islām. Hārūn ibn Sulaymān, better known as Bughrā Khān Īlak, and entitled Shihābu'd-Dawla, conquered Bukhārā in A.H. 383 (A.D. 993), and is the first of the dynasty mentioned in history. His lieutenant Shamsu'd-Dawla Naṣr ibn 'Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Sutuq, better known as Īlak Khān, again subdued Bukhārā in A.H. 389 (A.D. 999) and finally extinguished the Sāmānid power in Transoxiana. The last of the line was Nuṣratu'd-Dīn Qilij Arslān Khāqān 'Uthmān ibn Qilij Tamghāj Khān Ibrāhīm, who was killed in A.H. 609 (A.D. 1212-3) by Sultān 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh.

The first historian of this dynasty appears to have been the Imām Sharafu'z-Zamān Majdu'd-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Adnān as-Surkhakātī, uncle of Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad 'Awfi, the author of the often-quoted *Lubābu'l-Albāb* and of the vast collection of anecdotes entitled *Jawami'u'l-Hikaydt wa Lawami'u'l-Riwaydt*. This history, dedicated to Sultān Qilij Tamghāj Khān, the last ruler but one of the dynasty, is mentioned by Hājji Khalifa, and 'Awfi quotes from it in the seventeenth chapter of the fourth part of his *Jawami'u'l-Hikaydt*, composed about A.H. 630 (A.D. 1232-3). Except for this quotation (of which the text is cited on pp. 185-6 of the Persian notes) this work appears to be entirely lost. The chief extant sources of information about them are as follows:—

(1) Scattered references in such Arabic general histories as Ibnu'l-Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn.

(2) The *Ta'rikh-i-Jahān-ard* of the Qādl Ahmad-i-Ghaffārī has a short chapter on this dynasty<sup>1</sup>, which, though it adds little to the particulars given by the above-mentioned historians, has the advantage of gathering the details under one head and giving them a connected arrangement.

(3) A rare general history in Persian, of unknown authorship, entitled *Majma'u'l-Tawārīkh*<sup>2</sup>, contains a chapter of seven large pages on this dynasty, here called "the House of Afrāsiyāb."

(4) A long note by Major H. G. Raverty on pp. 900-911 of his English translation of the *Tubagdt-i-Nāqiri* (vol. ii, London, 1881).

(5) An article by Sir Henry Howarth on the *Afrāsiyābi Turks* in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1888, pp. 467-502. For this excellent article he obtained new materials from a Turki MS. from Eastern Turkistān entitled *Tadhkirat-i-Bughrā Khān*.

(6) Scattered references in such special histories as 'Utbi's *Ta'rikh-i-Yamīnī*, the *Ta'rikh-i-Bayhaqī*, Narshakhī's *Ta'rikh-i-Bukhārā*, Imādu'd-Dīn's and Abū Bakr ar-Rāwandī's histories of the Saljūqs, the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahāngushāy* of Juwaynī, 'Awfi's *Lubbū'l-Albāb* and *Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt*, the *Tubagdt-i-Nāqiri*, and this book, etc., the history of this dynasty being intermixed to some extent with that of the Ghaznawīs, Saljūqs and Khwārazmshāhs.

(7) The verses of certain contemporary poets who were their panegyrists, such as Rashīdī and Sūzānī of Samarqand, Mukhtārī of Ghazna, Raḍiyyu'd-Dīn of Nīshāpūr, 'Am'aq of Bukhārā, Shams-i-Ṭabāsī, etc.

In none of these books, however, except 'Awfi's *Lubbūb*, is mention made of Qilij Ṭamghāj Khān Ibrāhīm, the last ruler but one of the dynasty. He was a great patron of poetry and learning. Raḍiyyu'd-Dīn, the poet just mentioned, has especially celebrated his generosity to men of letters, and several notable prose works were dedicated to him, amongst others the *Sindibād-nāma*<sup>3</sup> and the *A'rāḍu'r-Riḍsat fi Aghraḍi's-Siydasat*<sup>4</sup> of Bahā'u'd-Dīn az-Zahīrī of Samarqand, and another work by the same author entitled *Sam'u'z-Zahīr fi Jam'i'z-Zahīr*<sup>5</sup>.

### Note XXIII. Five notable Astronomers.

(Text, pp. 54-5; Persian notes, pp. 193-206.)

Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (or *Bērūnī* or *Bayrūnī*) was born in a suburb or outer district (*bīrūn*) of Khwārazm

<sup>1</sup> Or. 141 of the British Museum, ff. 131<sup>a</sup>-134<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Suppl. Persan 1331 in the Bibl. Nationale of Paris, ff. 131<sup>b</sup>-136<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 195 *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> See Hājjī Khalīfa, *i.e.*, and 'Awfi's *Lubbūb*, i, 91. There is a MS. of the work in the Leyden Library.

<sup>5</sup> See *H. Kh.*, *i.e.*, and the *Lubbūb*, i, 91.

<sup>6</sup> Sachau quotes the *Anus* of as-Sam'ānī in favour of this latter pronunciation, but in the *facsimile* of this work published by the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" (vol. xx, f. 98<sup>b</sup>) the passage in question has *bī'l-kasrī* (with the *i* vowel) instead of *bī'l-fathā* (with the *a* vowel).

(Khiva) on Dhu'l-Hijja 3, A.H. 362 (Sept. 4, A.D. 973), and died (probably at Ghazna) on Rajab 2, A.H. 440 (Dec. 11, A.D. 1048) at the age of 77 lunar years and 7 months. He was one of the greatest men of science produced by Persia, and in him, as Dr Sachau says, "there is much of the modern spirit and method of critical research" in which respect "he is a phenomenon in the history of Eastern learning and literature." As a writer his industry equalled his learning. In A.H. 427 (A.D. 1035-6), when he had reached the age of 65 lunar (63 solar) years, he drew up for a correspondent a list of his writings, which has been fortunately preserved to us, and of which the original Arabic text is included by Sachau in the German Introduction to his edition of *al-Atharū'l-Bāgiya* (pp. xxxviii-xlix). This list comprises over a hundred works, arranged in 13 classes as follows:—

I. Geometry, Astronomy, &c.	...	18 works
II. Geography	...	15 "
III. Arithmetic	...	8 "
IV. Light	...	4 "
V. The Astrolabe	...	5 "
VI. Times and Seasons	...	5 "
VII. Comets	...	5 "
VIII. Stations of the Moon	...	12 "
IX. Astrology	...	7 "
X. Persian and other tales	...	13 "
XI. Religion	...	6 "
XII. Books of which the author retained no copy	...	5 "
XIII. Unfinished books	...	10 "
Total:		113

He also enumerates 25 other works written by three other men of learning and ascribed to him, viz. 12 by Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr ibn 'Alī ibn 'Arīq; 12 by Abū Saḥl 'Isā ibn Yaḥyā al-Masḥī; and one by Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-Jīlī. Further, Hājji Khalīfa enumerates 15 more of al-Bīrdī's works not appearing in the above list, though some of them are no doubt included in it under slightly different titles, while others are probably wrongly ascribed to our author. In Europe he is chiefly known by his "Chronology of Ancient Nations" (*al-Atharū'l-Bāgiya 'anī'l-Qurānī'l-Khālīya*) and his work on India, editions and translations of both of which we owe to the learning and industry of Dr Edward Sachau. The former, unfortunately, presents many serious *lacunae*: "Many most essential parts," says Dr Sachau, "both large and small, are missing, e.g. the chapter on Zoroaster, a most deplorable loss, arising probably from Muslim bigotry." On Nov. 12, 1912, however, I received a letter from my colleague Professor Bevan in which he wrote:—"I have just received from Salemann in St Petersburg an article which he has

<sup>1</sup> Mīrā Muḥammad points out to me that the original capital city of Khwārazm was Kāth on the eastern bank of the Oxus. Later (and probably already in al-Bīrdī's time) its place was taken by Urgān (or Gurgān) (called in Arabic Jurjāniyya) on the western bank. The modern city of Khiva is situated some distance to the south-west of the older Urgān.

<sup>2</sup> Preface to the English translation, p. xiii.

published in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale*. You will be glad to hear that another MS. of al-Bīrūnī's *al-Ātharū'l-Baḡiya* has turned up and enables us to supply most of the gaps in Sachau's edition, in particular the sections on Zoroaster and Bardaisan.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Qifī has no article on al-Bīrūnī in his "History of the Philosophers," and only once refers to him. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a gives him a short notice in his "Lives of the Physicians" (ii, pp. 20-21). The short articles consecrated to him by Zahrū'd-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan ibn Abū'l-Qāsim (wrote about the middle of the twelfth century of our era) and by Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ash-Shahrazūrī (early thirteenth century) are quoted in full by Sachau.<sup>2</sup> There is also a long notice of him in the modern Persian *Nāma-i-Dānishwardān* (vol. i, pp. 37-49) composed in A.H. 1294 (A.D. 1877), which is of little authority and does not add much to our knowledge.

Abū Ma'shar Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Balkhī was one of the most celebrated astronomers of the third century of the *hijra* (ninth of the Christian era), and, according to al-Qifī<sup>3</sup>, the greatest authority on the history of the ancient Persians. He dwelt in Baghdād, in the western part, and was originally a traditionist; and his fanaticism led him to insult and molest Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī, the "Philosopher of the Arabs," and to stir up the common people against him. Finally al-Kindī induced some of his friends to draw his attention to, and arouse his interest in Mathematics and Geometry, so that he came to seek instruction from al-Kindī, and was reconciled with him. He soon passed on (at the age of forty-seven) to the study of Astronomy. On one occasion he was scourged by command of the Caliph al-Musta'īn (reigned A.H. 248-251; A.D. 862-5) because of a prognostication which he had made and which proved too correct. Thenceforth he used to say: "I guessed right and was punished." He died on Ramaḍān 28, A.H. 272 (March 8, A.D. 886). Al-Qifī enumerates 38 of his works, of which such as are still extant are enumerated by Brockelmann (i, 221-2).

Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Jalīl as-Sajzī was a notable mathematician and astronomer of the fourth century of the *hijra*. Amongst his numerous works is the *Jam'ī-i-Shahī*, or "Royal Compendium," containing 15 treatises on astronomical subjects; of which there is a fine MS. in the British Museum<sup>4</sup>. In the course of this work, written at Shirāz, where he apparently spent most of his life, he refers to the years A.H. 351 (A.D. 962) and A.H. 380 (A.D. 990). The Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris possesses a beautiful MS.<sup>5</sup>, containing 41 mathematical and astronomical tracts, transcribed by him in Shirāz during the years A.H. 358-361 (A.D. 969-972). The colophons of such of these tracts as have them are given by Miṣṣā Muḥammad on pp. 200-201 of the Persian notes. Including the 15 tracts comprised in the *Jam'ī-i-Shahī*, 29 of his treatises are extant in European libraries<sup>6</sup>, besides the *Ṣad Bāb* mentioned in the text, and a dissertation on the Astrolabe.

<sup>1</sup> German Introduction to the text, pp. lli and liii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ta'rikhū'l-Ḥukamā*, ed. Lippert, p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> See Rieu's *Arabic Suppl.*, pp. 528-530.

<sup>4</sup> Fonds Arabe 2457.

<sup>5</sup> See Brockelmann, i, 219.



Kiyá Abu'l-Hasan Kúshyár ibn Labbán ibn Bá-shahrí al-Jilání (of Gilán) was a notable astronomer who flourished in the latter part of the fourth century of the *Hijra*. In his *Muḥmaḥ'l-Uḡúl*<sup>1</sup> he alludes to the year 321 of Yazdijird (A.H. 342 = A.D. 953-4), and in another passage of the same work<sup>2</sup> to A.V. 361 (A.H. 383 = A.D. 993-4), so that his active life appears to have lain between these two limits, and the date given by Hájji Khalifa (A.H. 459 = A.D. 1066-7) under *Zij-i Kúshyár* is certainly too late. See also Brockelmann, i, 222-3.

Abú Yúsuf Ya'qúb ibn Isháq . . al-Kindí, entitled "the Philosopher of the Arabs," traced his descent from Ma'di-Karib, and belonged to an Arabian family equally notable for ancient and noble lineage and honourable achievements. How our author can have represented him as a Jew is incomprehensible. The story about him and Abú Maḥhar, however, derives some confirmation from the *Fihrist*<sup>3</sup>. He composed some 270 works on Logic, Philosophy, Geometry, Arithmetic, Music, Astrology and Medicine, of which about a score are extant in European libraries<sup>4</sup>. The date of his death is not known, but he flourished in the reigns of al-Ma'mún and al-Mutawakkil (A.H. 198-247; A.D. 813-861). It is not clear on what authority Dr Heinrich Suter<sup>5</sup> gives A.H. 260 (A.D. 873-4) as the date of his death. He was noted for his parsimony, and a good many pages are devoted to him in the "Book of Misers" (*Kitáb al-Bukhála*) of al-Jáḥiḡ<sup>6</sup>. A number of his sayings in praise of this unattractive quality are quoted on p. 206 of the Persian notes from Ibn Abí Uṣaybi'a's "Lives of the Physicians" (vol. i, pp. 208-9).

#### Note XXIV. Certain astrological terms.

(Text, pp. 56, 59 and 62; Persian notes, pp. 206-8.)

In these anecdotes about astrologers and their predictions there occur a few technical terms which can be properly understood only by those (few in these days) who have made Astrology the special object of their studies. Amongst such is Mr Ralph Shirley, editor of the *Occult Review*, who has most kindly supplied me with the valuable notes which I have placed after the explanations derived from Arabic and Persian works.

##### 1. *Khaby* and *Ḍamír* (خبی و ضمیر).

The explanation of these terms, which I have translated by "divination and thought-reading," is given by Abú Rayḥán al-Bíróni in a passage of his *Ta'rikh*, quoted by Mirzá Muḥammad in the Persian notes (pp. 206-7), of which the translation is as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 7490, f. 12<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 4<sup>a</sup>. For a description of this fine MS. see Rieu's *Arabic Supplement*, pp. 312-9.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Flügel, p. 277.

<sup>4</sup> See Flügel's *Al-Kindí genannt der Philosoph der Araber*, in the *Abhandlung f. die Kunde der Morgenländer*, vol. i, part 2 (Leipzig, 1857); the long notice in al-Qūfí's *Ta'rikh al-Hukamá*, pp. 366-378; and Brockelmann, i, 209-210.

<sup>5</sup> In his *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1900).

<sup>6</sup> Cairo ed. of 1313/1903-6, pp. 64-76.

"Q. 'What are *khaby* and *damir*?'"

"A. '*Khaby* is that which is hidden in the fist; and *damir* is that one should think of something and [that the operator should] find it out by questioning.'

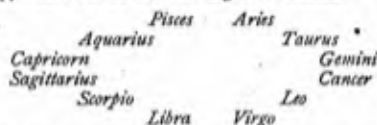
"Herein are astrologers speedily put to shame, and their mistakes are more frequent than their successes."

2. *Sahmu's-Sa'ddat* and *Sahmu'l-Ghayb* (سهر السعادة و سهر الغيب).

A full explanation of these terms, which I have translated "Part of Fortune" and "Part of the Unseen," is given in vol. i of the *Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musalmans*, pp. 698-9. After defining the pronunciation and ordinary meaning ("arrow") of *sahm*, and its special sense in Geomancy and Geometry, the article proceeds:—

"With astronomers the term *sahm* means a definite portion of the zodiacal heaven. According to them, these 'Parts' (*sahm-hd*) are many, e.g. the 'Part of Fortune' (or 'Happiness': *Sahmu's-Sa'ddat*), also called by them the 'Part of the Moon'; and the 'Part of the Unseen' (*Sahmu'l-Ghayb*), the 'Part of Days' (*Sahmu'l-Ayydm*), the 'Part of Men-servants and Maid-servants' (*Sahm-i-Ghuldmdn wa Kanisakdn*), and so forth. So by day they compute the 'Part of Happiness' from the Sun to the degree of the Moon, and add to it (that is to the degrees between the Sun and the Moon) the degree of the Ascendant. Then from the Ascendant's total they subtract thirty each [for the Sign of the Ascendant and the adjoining Sign], and what remains will be the degree of the position of the 'Part of Happiness.' And by night they compute from the degree of the Moon to the degree of the Sun, and add thereto the degree of the Ascendant.

"Example. Ascendant  $10^{\circ}$  in Aries; the Sun  $20^{\circ}$  in Leo; the Moon  $15^{\circ}$  in Libra, leaving  $40^{\circ}$  [from the position of the Sun in Leo] to [the beginning of] Libra. [To this] we add the  $25^{\circ}$  [already] traversed by the Moon [in Libra], which gives us  $55^{\circ}$ . To this we add the degree of the Ascendant, which gives us  $65^{\circ}$ . Of these we give  $30^{\circ}$  to Aries and  $30^{\circ}$  to Taurus, and the  $5^{\circ}$  remaining to Gemini. So the place of the 'Part of Happiness' will be the fifth degree of Gemini."



"As for the 'Part of the Unseen,' by day they compute it from the Moon and by night from the Sun, adding thereto the degree of the Ascendant, and subtracting thirty each from the Ascendant, as before; then what remains over is the place of the 'Part of the Unseen.'"

Then follow directions on similar lines for calculating the other 'Parts,' viz. the 'Part of Days' (*Sahmu'l-Ayydm*), the 'Part of Men-servants

<sup>1</sup> Published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1862.

and Maid-servants,' the 'Part of Wealth and Friends' (*Sahm-i-Mâl u Afdâd*), the 'Marriage of Women' (*Taswîf-i-Zandân*), and the 'Parts' of the Five Planets, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury and Venus.

### 3. *Kad-khudd* and *Hayldj* (كدخدا و هيلج).

These terms are applied in Astrology to two indications of the length of life of the child. According to Abd Rayhân al-Birûnî,<sup>1</sup> "the *Hayldj* is one of five things: first, the Master of the day- or night-shift (*Sahib-i-Nawbat-i-rûs yâ iknâs*); secondly, the Moon by day and the Sun by night; thirdly, the Degree of the Ascendant; fourthly, the 'Part of Fortune'; fifthly, the House of the Conjunction or Opposition which shall have taken place before birth. One of these five things they call the *Hayldj* when it is conjoined with its own proper conditions described in books on Astrology, and the sum total they call *Hayldij* or *Hayldjat*.

"The *Kad-khudd* ('Master of the House') is the star which dominates the place of the *Hayldj* in this sense, that it is the Lord of the Mansion wherein the *Hayldj* is actually situated, or the Lord of its exaltation (*Sahib-i-Sharaf*), or the Lord of some other of its Parts which stand in relation to that position.

"If the *Hayldj* be one which has no *Kad-khudd*, then they leave it out and seek another of the five *Hayldij* which has one; and if none of them has a *Kad-khudd*, then the quality of being a *Hayldj* belongs to the Degree of the Ascendant.

"*Example of the Hayldj and Kad-khudd.* If at the time of the birth of the child (by day) the Moon be in 19° of Aries, then the Moon will be one of the five *Hayldij* (subject to the concurrence of the other proper conditions which are set forth in books of Astrology). Then, in this hypothetical example, the *Kad-khudd* will be the Sun, for the Sun dominates the place of the *Hayldj*, that is to say is the Lord of its altitude, for the exaltation (*sharaf*) of the Sun is in 19° of Aries. And if, in this hypothetical example, the degree of the Ascendant is in 19° of Aries, this degree of the Ascendant will be the *Hayldj*, and again the Sun will be the *Kad-khudd*, and so on.

"So from the admixture and combination of the sum-total of the *Hayldj* and the *Kad-khudd*, they deduce (as they imagine) the duration of the child's life, its length or brevity, and its happiness or infelicity.

"The derivation of the word *Hayldj* is unknown<sup>2</sup>."

Mr Ralph Shirley's observations are contained in three letters, dated May 22, May 31 and October 25, 1920, the first addressed to Professor Margoliouth, to whom my enquiries were originally addressed, the others to myself, the last one after reading the proofs containing the anecdotes to which this note refers.

<sup>1</sup> These particulars were derived by Mirzâ Muhammad from the British Museum MS. of the *Yafthâ*, Add. 7697, ff. 146<sup>a</sup> and 154<sup>a</sup>, and from Kuchyâr's *Mufmahl-i-Uplî*, Add. 7490, ff. 28-9.

<sup>2</sup> It is said to be from the Greek *hâleis*; see Sédillot's *Préface*, p. 151 of the text. See also Schefer's *Chrétienisme Persane*, vol. i, p. 102 *ad calc.*

(Extracts from first letter.)

"The hyleg (*haylaji*) in astrology is the vital point, or 'giver of life.' This is considered to be either the sun, or the moon, or the ascendant. In order to be hyleg, the sun or moon must occupy either the 9th, 10th, or 11th houses, or else the ascendant or 7th house. If, e.g., the sun occupies one of these positions and the moon does not, then the sun is hyleg or life-giver. If, on the other hand, they both occupy such a position, then the one that is most predominant or most elevated, would be hyleg, i.e., if the sun occupied the 10th house and the moon the 11th, the sun would be hyleg, and *vice versa*. If neither sun nor moon occupy any of these positions, it is usual to take the ascending degree as hyleg, but some of the old astrologers would regard the dominant planet as hyleg under such circumstances. It must not be supposed from this that when the sun is hyleg the moon has therefore no influence on the constitution. The moon in any case has to do with the digestion and various matters of this kind, and the sun is in any case the ruler of the heart and therefore always important. The sun, however, might be violently afflicted though the health might not be seriously endangered, if it did not occupy the position of hyleg. The same would apply to the moon. I think, other things being equal, the moon is to be regarded as having more influence with a woman and the sun with a man. Alcohoden is merely another name for hyleg, but is not used nowadays.

"As regards the other words, I have never heard of them. I have however little doubt that the last, *sahmu's-sa'ddat*, is the Arabic term for the 'Part of Fortune.' Some old astrologers attached a good deal of importance to this, without, I imagine, much justification. The 'Part of Fortune' is that part of the horoscope where the moon would be if the sun were exactly rising. The 'Part of Fortune' was supposed to refer to the wealth and property of the native. Ptolemy laid great stress on it, but the author of the 'Text-book of Astrology' remarks that 'it must be rejected from a rational system of genethliology.'

"'Part of Mystery' (*sahmu'l-ghayb*) conveys no meaning, and I do not think anything can be found corresponding to this in the astrological books at present available. The only suggestion I can make is that it might conceivably be the opposite point in the horoscope to the 'Part of Fortune.' But this is pure conjecture and may be entirely on the wrong track. It looks as if the Arabs had some tradition here which does not find its place in any astrological books extant."

(Extract from second letter.)

"Thank you for yours of the 29th May. I think it might be a help if you sent me a copy of the book in question. I have, however, read so much on the subject of astrology that I question whether there is any likelihood of my being able to throw light on the 'Part of the Unseen.' I cannot think there is any reference to it in any known author on the subject. Astrologers of the present day look upon Neptune as the planet that gives psychic powers, and this is unquestionably correct. In the case of people who have clairvoyant gifts, etc., or are mediumistic

in temperament, one constantly finds Neptune and the Moon predominant in the horoscope. But it is of course impossible to suppose that the Arabian astrologers had any clue to the planet Neptune. The 'Part of Fortune' is merely the translation of the Latin *Parti Fortunæ*. I cannot account for the origin of the idea, which seems quite fantastic....

"The Ascendant is the degree rising at birth; i.e., at sunrise the sun would be on the ascendant. The 'Lord of the Ascendant' is the planet that rules the ascending sign of the Zodiac. The two most important positions in the horoscope are the ascendant and the mid-heaven, and any planets here are considered more powerful than any others. The Ascendant has special relation to the individual, and the mid-heaven to the fortune."

(Extract from third letter.)

"I am sorry to have kept your proofs so long, but I have been a good deal away from the office lately, and consequently my work has got into arrears.

"With regard to the 'Part of the Unseen,' this is evidently something kindred in nature to the 'Part of Fortune,' and as the Part of Fortune (*pars fortunæ*) is always so called by astrologers, I think it would be well to use the expression 'Part' and not 'Share.' I have not yet discovered what the 'Part of the Unseen' actually is. It obviously cannot be the opposite position to that of the 'Part of Fortune,' as I see that in one instance cited in your proofs the two are in conjunction on the Ascendant."

#### Note XXV. 'Umar-i-Khayyâm.

(Text, pp. 63-4, 65; Persian notes, pp. 209-228.)

Abu'l-Fath 'Umar ibn Ibrâhîm al-Khayyâmî, commonly called 'Umar (or 'Omar) Khayyâm, is so much more celebrated in the West, especially in England and America, than in the East that Mirzâ Muḥammad has, for the benefit of his own countrymen, for whom he is primarily writing, added a very long note on his biography, the sources of our information about him, and the history of the "Omar Khayyâm Club," founded in London in his honour in 1892. The information contained in this note is mainly derived from Professor Valentin Zhukovski's masterly article on the "Wandering Quatrains" or 'Umar-i-Khayyâm, which appeared in the *Festschrift* published in 1897 at St Petersburg in honour of the late Baron Victor Rosen, by eleven of his pupils, and entitled, in allusion to his Christian name, *al-Muḥaffariyya*. This article, written in Russian, was translated by Sir E. Denison Ross and published in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1898 (vol. xxx, pp. 349-366), and reproduced in its essentials by him in Methuen's edition of FitzGerald's *Quatrains*, and by me in vol. ii of my *Literary History of Persia*, pp. 246-9. It is therefore sufficient to summarize here the information which can be found in greater detail in those places.

*Persian and Arabic Sources of Information arranged chronologically.*

## 1. The Chahār Maqála.

This present work, the author of which was personally acquainted with 'Umar, and wrote only some thirty years after his death, contains the oldest account of him yet discovered.

## 2. The Kharīdatu'l-Qaṣr.

(Addition to Persian notes, p. ۲۰۹.)

This book, composed by 'Imādu'd-Dīn al-Kātib al-Isfahānī in 572/1176-7, contains a notice of 'Umar-i-Khayyām amongst the poets of Khurāsān. Two MSS. of this work exist in the Leyden library (see Dozy's *Catalogue*, vol. ii, pp. 208-288, viz. Warner 348, f. 185, and Gol. 21b, f. 238.

## 3. Khāqānī.

A single reference to him occurs in a verse of the Persian poet Khāqānī, who died about A.H. 595 (A.D. 1198-9).

## 4. The Miršādu'l-'Ibād.

The *Miršādu'l-'Ibād* of Shaykh Najmu'd-Dīn Dāya, composed in A.H. 620 (A.D. 1223-4), contains a passage in which 'Umar is denounced as an atheist, and two of his quatrains are cited with disapproval. The text of this important passage is quoted by Mirzā Muḥammad (Persian notes, p. 211) from Zhukovski's article. I have collated this with a fine old MS. of the *Miršād* transcribed at A.H. 768 (A.D. 1367), which presents the following variants, generally improvements.

211, 1, inserts *معلوم* after *گردد*; reads *و روحانی را نورانی را* for *و روحانی را*; inserts *قالب* after *صورت*; and reads *خاک* for *خاکی*. 211, 5, inserts *و* before *بمرتبه*. l. 6 after *نهد* substitutes for *و آن* at the end of the line the following words:—

تا آنج در نظر آورد در قدم آورد که ثمر نظر ایمانست و ثمره قدم عرفان

211, 8, for *معرفت* reads *معروف*. 211, 9, substitutes *در تبه* for *و* before, and inserts *وی را* after *ضلالت*; and after *گفت* adds *و اظهار نا*. 211, 10, inserts *شعر* at beginning of line. 211, 12, omits [و ابضا]. 211, 11, *فگندش*. Of the passage thus emended the translation is as follows:—

"And it will become apparent for what reason this pure, celestial and luminous spirit was drawn into the form of this lowly earthen mould, and also why it must part therefrom, why the spirit must sever its connection with this mould, why the form must perish, and what is the reason for the restoration of this mould at the Resurrection and the reinvestiture of the spirit therewith. Then will he [*i.e.* the enquirer] come forth from the company of 'these are like cattle, nay, they are yet more misguided', attain to the rank of [true] humanity, escape from the

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'an*, xxv, 46.

veil of heedlessness of 'they know the outward appearance of this present life, but are careless as to the life to come', and set his feet eagerly and joyfully in the Pilgrim's Path, so that what he acquires by vision he may translate into progress, seeing that the fruit of vision is Faith, while the fruit of progress is Wisdom. But those poor philosophers, atheists and materialists, who are debarred from these two stations, err and go astray, so that one of the most talented of them, who is known and noted amongst them for scholarship, philosophical knowledge and judgement, that is 'Umar-i-Khayyám, in the extreme of bewilderment must needs advertise his blindness in the desert of error by uttering the following verses:

'To that circle wherein is our coming and going  
Neither beginning nor end is apparent.  
No one breathes a true word in this world  
As to whence is our coming and whither our going!

'Since [God the All-] Holder arranged the composition of [men's] natures  
Wherefore did He again cast them into decline and decay?  
If these forms are ugly, whose is the fault,  
And if they are good, wherefore their destruction?'<sup>1</sup>

### 5. Shahrazúrí's Tawárikhu'l-Hukamá.

This "History of the Philosophers," properly entitled *Nushatu'l-Aradd wa Rawdatu'l-Afráh*, composed by Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad ibn Maḥmúd of Shahrazúr between A.H. 586 and 611 (A.D. 1190 and 1214), exists in two recensions, one Arabic and one Persian<sup>2</sup>. Of the latter there exists, besides the MS. described by Rieu, another MS. (No. 97) in the Pote Collection in the library of King's College, Cambridge. Both versions are given in the original by Zhukovski<sup>3</sup>, with a Russian translation of the Persian version, while Sir E. Denison Ross's English translation follows the Arabic, of which the text is reprinted on pp. 212-214 of Mírzá Muḥammad's Persian notes. The Arabic verses contained in it are, however, corrupt, and need emendation.

### 6. Ibnu'l-Athír.

Mention of 'Umar-i-Khayyám is made by this great historian, who wrote in A.H. 628 (A.D. 1230-1), under the year A.H. 467 (A.D. 1074-5), where he says:—

"And in it the Nizámu'l-Mulk and Sultán Maliksháh assembled a number of the most notable astronomers, and fixed the *Naw-rúz* (Persian New Year's Day) in the first point of Aries, it having been hitherto at the passage of the Sun through the middle point of Pisces; and what the Sultán did became the starting-point of [all subsequent] Calendars. In it also was constructed the Observatory for Sultán

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'án*, xxx, 6.

<sup>2</sup> The second of these quatrains, which may be accounted amongst the most certainly genuine of those ascribed to 'Umar, is No. 126 in E. H. Whinfield's edition.

<sup>3</sup> See Sachau's Introduction to his edition of al-Bírdí's *al-Athdál-l-Báqiya*, pp. 1-11, and Rieu's *Persian Supplement*, pp. 68-9.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 317-9.

Maliksháh, for the making of which a number of notable astronomers were assembled, amongst them 'Umar ibn Ibráhím al-Khayyámí, Abul-Muzaffar al-'Izízí, Maymún ibnu'n-Najíb al-Wásítí, and others. A great amount of wealth was expended upon it, and the Observatory remained in use until the King died in A.H. 485 (A.D. 1092-3), but after his death it was disused."

#### 7. Al-Qift's Ta'ríkhul-Hukamá.

The "History of the Philosophers," composed between A.H. 624 and 646 (A.D. 1227 and 1248-9) by Jumálu'd-Dín Abul-Hasan 'Alí ibn Yúsu'f al-Qiftí, and edited by Dr Julius Lippert<sup>1</sup>, also contained a notice of 'Umar-i-Khayyám, of which a French translation is given by Woespke in his *L'Algèbre d'Omar Alkhayyámí*, while later Russian and English versions are given by Zhukovski and Ross respectively<sup>2</sup>.

#### 8. Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá.

In the account of the massacre of the people of Merv perpetrated by the Mongols early in the year 618/1221 one of 'Umar's quatrains is said to have been recited by Sayyid 'Izzu'd-Dín Nassábá when he had finished counting the bodies of the victims, of whom the number exceeded 1,300,000. This history was composed in 658/1260, and the passage in question occurs in vol. i, p. 128 ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, xvi, 1).

#### 9. Qazwíní's Átháru'l-Bilád.

In his "Monuments of the Lands," composed in A.H. 674 (A.D. 1275-6), Zakariyyá ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmúd al-Qazwíní gives, under his notice of the city of Nishápúr, some account of 'Umar' containing certain new materials which I have summarized in my *Lit. Hist. of Persia* (ii, 251-2).

#### 10. The Jāmi'u't-Tawáríkh.

I believe that I was the first to call attention<sup>3</sup> to an important notice of 'Umar in Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh's great history, compiled about the beginning of the eighth century of the *hijra* (fourteenth of the Christian era). The importance of this notice lies in the fact that it professes to be copied from an Isma'ili biography of Hasan-i-Sabbáh, entitled *Sarguzasht-i-Sayyid-ná* ("the Adventures of Our Master"), found in the library of Alamút, the Assassins' chief stronghold in Persia, where it was destroyed by Húlágú and his Mongols in the middle of the thirteenth century of our era; and that it affords a much more respectable authority than any previously adduced for the famous "Story of the Three Friends," i.e. the *Nisámul-Mulk*, Hasan-i-Sabbáh, and 'Umar-i-Khayyám<sup>4</sup>. The chronological difficulties involved in this story, how-

<sup>1</sup> Leipzig, 1903. The notice of 'Umar occurs on pp. 243-4.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1851, pp. v-vi of the Preface and p. 53 of the text.

<sup>3</sup> See also my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, ii, pp. 250-1.

<sup>4</sup> P. 318 of Wüstenfeld's edition.

<sup>5</sup> In a paper entitled *Yet more Light on 'Umar-i-Khayyám* which appeared in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1899 (pp. 409-411). See my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, ii, 252-3.

<sup>6</sup> See, besides the passage in my *Lit. Hist. of Persia* cited in the previous note, pp. 190-193 of the same volume.



ever, render its acceptance very difficult. Mirzā Muḥammad has communicated to me the ingenious suggestion that its historical basis is to be found in a passage in Yāqūt's *Mu'jamu'l-Udabā'* or "Dictionary of Learned Men",<sup>1</sup> where it is stated on the authority of Abū'l-Hasan ibn Abī'l-Qāsim Zayd al-Bayhaqī, author of the *Mashāriḥu't-Tajdrih*, that in the year 434/1042-3 the poet 'Alī ibnū'l-Hasan al-Bākhari and Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr al-Kundurī, who subsequently became famous under the title of *'Amīdu'l-Mulk* as Minister to the Saljūq Sultān Tughril Beg and Alp Arslān, were fellow-pupils of the same Imām Muwaffaq of Nishāpūr at whose lectures the "Three Friends" are supposed to have become acquainted. That the framework of a story should be preserved with the substitution of more interesting or more celebrated personalities as its heroes is a very common literary phenomenon. If this has happened in the present case, the poet al-Bākhari has simply been replaced by the poet 'Umar-i-Khayyām, and Alp Arslān's earlier Minister *'Amīdu'l-Mulk* by his later Minister *Nizāmu'l-Mulk*, the Imām Muwaffaq remaining in both versions.

### 11. Ta'rīkh-i-Guzida.

This well-known history, composed in 730/1319-1330, also contains a brief notice of 'Umar and cites one of his quatrains. ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, xiv, 1, pp. 817-818.)

### 12. Firdawsu't-Tawārīkh.

This work, the "Paradise of Histories," composed in A.H. 808 (A.D. 1405-6) by Mawlānā Khusrāw of Abarqūh, contains an account of 'Umar-i-Khayyām of which the Persian text is reproduced from Zhukovski's article on pp. 217-219 of the Persian notes, and of which the substance is given in my *Lit. Hist.*, ii, 254.

### 13. The Ta'rīkh-i-Alfī.

This late work, composed, as its title implies, in A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-2)<sup>2</sup> for the Emperor Akbar by Aḥmad ibn Naṣru'llāh of Tatta in India, contains a very entertaining anecdote concerning 'Umar-i-Khayyām's belief in Metempsychosis, which is given in English on pp. 254-5 of vol. ii of my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, and of which the text will be found on pp. 219-220 of the Persian notes.

The above list is far from exhaustive, but contains all the older and more authentic as well as the more interesting of the modern notices of this famous man.

### 'Umar-i-Khayyām's Scientific Works.

These include—

- (1) His treatise on Algebra, of which the Arabic text accompanied by a French translation was published at Paris in 1851 by F. Woepcke.
- (2) On the difficulties of Euclid's Definitions, of which a manuscript is preserved at Leyden (No. 967). See also Brockelmann, i, 471.

<sup>1</sup> "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, vi, 5, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> It extends, however, only to the year 997/1588-9.

(3) The *Zīj*, or Calendar, of Malikshāh, to which, as noticed above (i.v. Ibnu'l-Athīr), 'Umar contributed.

(4) A brief treatise on Natural Philosophy.

(5) A Persian treatise on Being, composed for Fakhrū'l-Mulk<sup>1</sup> ibn Mu'ayyad, of which a MS. (Or. 6572, f. 51) is preserved in the British Museum. In another MS. (Suppl. Pers. 139, No. 7) in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, described by M. E. Blochet in his *Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans* (Paris, 1905, vol. i, p. 108), the name of the person to whom this work is dedicated is given as Fakhrū'd-Dīn Mu'ayyadu'l-Mulk, whom Mirzā Muḥammad is inclined to identify with the son of the Nizāmu'l-Mulk who bore this latter title. This treatise, according to a manuscript note by M. Blochet, has been translated by M. Christensen and published in the *Monde Oriental* (Copenhagen, 1905).

(6) A treatise on Growth and Obligation (*Kawn wa Taklīf*).

(7) Methods for ascertaining the respective proportions of gold and silver in an amalgam or admixture containing both. A MS. of this (No. 1158) exists in the library of Gotha.

(8) A treatise entitled *Lawdsimū'l-Ankina* on the Seasons and on the causes of the diversity of climate in different places.

### The Quatrains.

How many of the *Rubā'iyyāt* or Quatrains attributed to 'Umar-i-Khayyām are really his it is impossible to determine, since no very ancient manuscript collection of them has yet been discovered<sup>2</sup>; but Zhukovski has enumerated more than fourscore which are ascribed on at least equally good authority to other poets<sup>3</sup>. Although they have repeatedly been lithographed in Persia and India, they enjoy, thanks to Edward FitzGerald's translation, a far greater celebrity in the West, and especially in England and America, than in the land of their origin, where no one would think of ranking 'Umar as a poet in the same category as Firdawsī, Sa'dī or Hāfiz. The causes of 'Umar's popularity in the West are manifold. *First*, he had the supreme good fortune to find a translator like FitzGerald. *Secondly*, the beauty of his quatrains depends more on their substance than on their form, whereas the converse

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Fakhrū'l-Mulk ibn Nizāmu'l-Mulk, the Prime Minister of Salṭān Barkiyārūq.

<sup>2</sup> The oldest MS. (Bodl. No. 325) was copied in A.H. 865 (A.D. 1460-1) nearly three centuries and a half after 'Umar's death. The text of this, in *facsimile* and in print, with literal prose translation, was published by Mr Edward Heron Allen (London: H. S. Nichols, Ltd.) in 1898. Mirzā Muḥammad informs me that a year or two before the War (i.e. in 1913 or 1914) there was offered for sale by an Armenian dealer in Paris a very fine autograph MS. of the *Mūnissū'l-Abrār* of the Persian poet Muḥammad ibn Badr-i-Jāfari, transcribed in the year 740/1339-1340. It comprised about 600 leaves, and contained extensive selections from the works of some two hundred of the most celebrated Persian poets from the earliest times down to the date of compilation. Amongst these poems were included some twenty of 'Umar-i-Khayyām's quatrains, which were copied by Mirzā Muḥammad into a note-book. I do not know what has become of this precious manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> For a list of these see my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, II, 256-7.

holds good of much Persian poetry. *Thirdly*, their gentle melancholy, half sceptical mysticism and graceful pessimism are congenial to an age which, like his own, has come to the conclusion that science can answer almost every question save that which most intimately concerns our own hopes and happiness.

The information given by Mīrzā Muḥammad in the latter part of his note (pp. 222-7) about the European renderings of 'Umar-i-Ḳhayyām and his admirers and imitators, and especially about the Club called by his name, though new to most Persian readers, is familiar to all in this country who take an interest in such matters, and may be found in great detail in Nathan Haskell Dole's "Multi-Variorum edition" (Macmillan, London, 1898).

**Note XXVI. On certain medical terms in the Preface to the Fourth Discourse.**

(Text, pp. 68-9; Persian notes, p. 230.)

The Pulse (*Nabḍ*) is very fully discussed in all Arabic and Persian works on Medicine, e.g. the *Firdawsu'l-Hikmat* of 'Alī ibn Rabban at-Ṭabarī, *Naw' iv*, *Maḡāla xii*, *chs. 6-9* (Brit. Mus. Arundel Or. 41, ff. 163<sup>a</sup>-165<sup>b</sup>); the *Kāmilu's-Sinā'at*, also called *al-Kitābu'l-Malikī*, of 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Majūsī, *Part I*, *Maḡāla vii*, *chs. 2-11* (Cairo ed. of 1294/1877, vol. i, pp. 254-281); the *Qānūn* of Avicenna, *Book I*, *Fann ii*, *Ta'lim iii*, *Jumla 1* (19 sections), pp. 62-8 of the Rome edition of A.D. 1593 (= ff. 49<sup>b</sup>-53<sup>b</sup> of the Latin translation printed at Venice in 1544); and the Persian *Dhakhfra-i-Khwārazmshāhī*, *Book II*, *Guftār iii*, *chs. 1-23*.

As our author chiefly follows Avicenna, we may conveniently do the same, though indeed the general views of all these writers appear to be almost identical. Each pulsation consists of four factors or elements, two movements (*ḥarakat*), a diastole (*inbiḍḍ*) and a systole (*ingibāḍ*), and two pauses (*sukūn*) separating the two movements. The ten kinds or genera (*jins*) of pulse are determined by consideration of the following features:—

(1) The amount of the diastole (*miqdāru'l-inbiḍḍ*, "genus quod est sumptum ex quantitate diastoles"). In this genus three elements are to be considered, length (*ḡalḡ*), breadth (*'arf*) and depth (*'umq*), each of which supplies three simple varieties of pulse, two extremes and a mean, besides composite varieties, which I shall not here enumerate. Thus we have the long (*ḡawīḡ*), the short (*ḡaḡḡ*, "curtus") and the intermediate (*mu'tadīl*, "mediocris"); the broad (*'arḡḡ*, "latus"), the narrow (*ḡayyiq*, "strictus") and the intermediate; the depressed (*mukhaffaḡ*, "profundus"), the ascending, elevated or prominent (*mushrif*, "apertus") and the intermediate.

(2) The quality of the impact on the fingers of the observer (*kayfiyyatu ḡar'i'l-ḥarakati'l-aḡḡbi'a*, "genus quod est sumptum ex qualitate percussionis venæ in digitos"). This also has three varieties, the strong (*ḡawīḡ*, "fortis"), the weak (*ḡa'if*, "debilis") and the intermediate (*mu'tadīl*, "æqualis").

(3) The time or duration of each movement (*samānu kullī harakat*), "quod ex tempore cujuscunque motionis sumptum est". This also comprises three varieties, the quick (*sarī*), "velox", the slow (*baṣf*), "tardus", and the intermediate ("æqualis").

(4) Resistance to the touch (*ʿīwānu l-dlat*), "quod ex essentiā instrumenti sumitur". Here also we have three varieties, the soft (*layyīn*), "mollis", the hard (*ṣalb*), "durus" and the intermediate ("mediocris").

(5) Emptiness or fulness (*ḥālu mā yaḥtawī 'alayhi min khald'ihi wa 'mild'ihi*), "quod est sumptum ex eo quod continetur", three varieties, the full (*mumtālī*), "plenus", the empty (*khālī*), "vacuus" and the intermediate ("mediocris").

(6) Heat or cold (*ḥarru malmasī wa barduhu*), "quod ex suo tactu sumptum est", three varieties, the hot (*ḥarr*), "calidus", the cold (*bardī*), "frigidus" and the intermediate ("temperatus").

(7) The duration of the pause (*samānu s-sukūn*), "quod est sumptum ex tempore quietis", three varieties, the continuous (*mutawdīr*, also called *mutadarrīk* and *mutakdhīf*), "frequens", "consequens" or "spissus", the differentiated (*mutafdwīl*, also called *mutardkhīl* and *mutakhalkhīl*), "rarus", "lassus" or "resolutus", and the intermediate ("mediocris").

(8) The equality or diversity of the pulse (*istiwā'u n-nabḍi wa 'khtild'fuhu*), "quod est sumptum ex æqualitate et diversitate", "aut æquale, aut diversum seu inæquale", two varieties, equal (*mustaw*), "æqualis" and unequal (*mukhtalīf*), "diversus".

(9) The regularity or irregularity of the pulse (*an-niẓm wa ghayru-niẓm*), "genus quod ex ordinatione et inordinatione sumptum est", two varieties, regularly different (*mukhtalīf muntāẓim*), "diversè ordinatus" and irregularly different (*mukhtalīf ghayru muntāẓim*), "diversè inordinatus".

(10) Weight, harmony or measure (*wasn*), "quod ex pondere est sumptum", which may be either good or bad, each of which comprises three varieties.

It will thus be seen that 37 primary varieties of pulse are recognized, but there are many secondary and composite types which it would take too long to enumerate. Speaking of the latter in the first group or genus mentioned above Avicenna says that some only are named, such as *al-'aẓīm* ("magnus") and *ar-ṣaghīr* ("parvus"), *al-ḡhalīq* ("grossus") and *ar-ragīq* ("subtilis"); and the next section but one (§ iii) treats of the different sorts of composite pulse which have proper names, such as *al-ghazālī* ("gazellans"), *al-mawjī* ("undulosus"), *ad-dūdī* ("vermiculosus"), *an-namīl* ("formicans"), etc. Very full treatment is accorded to the whole subject, and in particular it is explained why the pulse is felt at the wrist preferably to any other place, and what precautions should be observed in feeling it. The remarks about the observing of the systole ascribed by our author to Avicenna appear to be really quoted by him from Galen: "Galenus quoque dixit 'longo tempore non fui sollicitus ex depressione: postea vero non quievi tangendo donec ex eo aliquid percepi, et postea illud complevi. Nam postea portæ pulsus mihi apertæ fuerunt'."

Next in importance to the examination of the pulse came the inspection of the urine as a means of diagnosis. This is called, as in the text, *Tafsira*, a word thus defined in the great *Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musalmānī* (p. 1115): "This with the physicians is the vessel wherein is the patient's urine [intended] to be shewn to the physician; and it is also called *dallīl* (indication, guide). It is only called *tafsira* because it explains (*tufassir*) and makes manifest to the physician the patient's physical condition." The chief points to be observed in it are the colour (*lawn*), consistency (*gīwām*), smell (*ra'iḥa*), froth (*subā*), sediment (*rassāb*), and copious or scanty quantity (*kathrat wa qillat*). Twelve sections are devoted to this subject in the *Qdnūn*, and twenty-nine in the *Dhakhira-i-Khwarazmshāhi*.

The word translated "delirium" in the text is *sarsām*, so explained by Schlimmer (pp. 179 and 460), with the equivalent of Phrenitis. This latter word appears correctly as *فَرَانِيْطُس* (*farrānīṭus*) in a fine old twelfth or thirteenth century MS. of the *Qdnūn* in my possession; but in the Rome edition of A.D. 1593 (p. 302) in the corrupt form *فَرَانِيْطُس* (*qarānīṭus*)<sup>1</sup>, and in the Latin version as "karabitus." It is defined by Avicenna as a "hot swelling (or inflammation) of the pia mater or dura mater not extending to the substance of the brain," and would therefore appear to be equivalent to meningitis.

The general doctrine of Fever and its Varieties taught by "Arabian Medicine" is most clearly and succinctly set forth in Book V of the Persian *Dhakhira-i-Khwarazmshāhi*, of which I possess a very fine MS. transcribed in the thirteenth century of the Christian era. This Book comprises six *Gusfārs*, or Discourses, of which the first, divided into four chapters, treats "of what Fever is, and of how many species, how it appears and how it passes away." The first chapter, on "What Fever is," may be translated in full on account of its brevity.

"You must know that 'Fever is an abnormal' heat enkindled in the heart, transmitted by the intermediary of the spirit and the blood to the blood-vessels and [thus] diffused throughout the whole body, which it heats and inflames with an inflammation whereof the harmful effects appear in all the natural functions.' This sentence formulated above is the definition (*ḥadd*) of Fever; the word 'Heat' is the genus, while the other words are the specific differentiations (*faṣl-hā-yi dhātī*) whereby the definition is completed. Further you must know that the heat of Fever is not like the heat of anger, fatigue, grief and the like, because these heats harmfully affect the natural functions without the intervention of anything else, even as when water descends into the eye the hurtful effect thereof on the vision becomes apparent without the intervention of anything else; and when the heat of anger, or the like thereof, reaches that point where it will be injurious to the natural functions, it is but the cause, and the injury thereof only becomes apparent by the intervention of something else. Even so is the putridity (*ʿafānas*) of fever, for the

<sup>1</sup> This same corrupt form also occurs in most MSS. of the *Dhakhira-i-Khwarazmshāhi*, Book VI, *Gusfār* I, Part 1, ch. 1, where, however, the word is specifically recognized as Greek.

<sup>2</sup> *Gharīb*, lit. "strange."

putridity is the cause, while the hurt thereof is through the intervention of that heat which is produced from it. And the natural functions, wherein the hurt of fever becomes apparent, are such as the appetite for food and wine, digestion, rising up, sitting down, going, eating, sexual intercourse, and the like thereof.\*

The next (second) chapter deals with the different kinds of fever, and is too long (3 pages) to be translated in full here. The human body is compounded of three sorts of substances; (1) basic tissues such as the bones, nerves and blood-vessels; (2) the marrow of the bones, the blood, and other liquids contained in the vessels and cavities of the body, such as the phlegm, bile and black bile, known as the 'humours'; (3) the natural, animal or vital, and psychic spirits, and the vapours diffused throughout the body. This composite body the ancients have likened to a hot bath, whereof the walls, bricks and stones are represented by the bones, nerves and blood-vessels; the water by the marrow, the blood, and the humours; and the steam by the natural, animal and psychic spirits, and the vapours. When the heat of the fever attacks the basic tissues of the body, it is like the heat of the fire affecting the walls, stones and bricks of the hot bath; and this kind of fever is called 'hectic' (*digq*). When it first attacks the humours and subsequently the basic tissues, it is like the hot water being let into the chambers of the bath and heating the walls; and this kind of fever is called 'humoristic' (*khaltiyya*). When it attacks the spirit and the vapours, which in turn heat the humours and the tissues, it is like the hot air in the bath heating in turn the water and the walls thereof; and this kind of fever is called 'quotidian' (Pers. *tab-i-yak-rûza*; Arab. *humud yawm*<sup>(\*)</sup>).

This is one classification. Another is into 'simple' (*basif*) and 'compound' (*murakkab*), according as one humour only is involved, or more than one. Thirteen kinds of fever are recognized, viz. :—

- (1) That which is in itself an independent disease.
- (2) That which is the symptom of some other disease.
- (3) Very high fever called 'acute' (*hadda*).
- (4) The slower and heavier fever called 'chronic' (*musmina*).
- (5) That which attacks by day.
- (6) That which attacks by night.
- (7) That which passes away easily.
- (8) Fevers which are fierce in their onset and accompanied by alarming symptoms.
- (9) Continuous fevers (*lâsim* or *muftiq*).
- (10) Non-continuous fevers (*muftira*).
- (11) Cold fevers.
- (12) Fevers accompanied by rigors (Pers. *larza*; Arab. *ndfiq*, *ra'da*).
- (13) Fevers accompanied by 'goose-skin' (Pers. *fardshd*; Arab. *qash'arira*).

These, says the author, are the broad general divisions, each of which contains subdivisions which will be treated of in subsequent chapters. Fevers of the type called "putrid" (*'afn*, in Persian *ganda* or

*pūsida*) are of four kinds, corresponding to the four humours (*akhlāf*) from the corruption of which they arise, and each of these is subdivided into two varieties, according as the corruption arises within or without the blood vessels. But since two or more of these kinds may co-exist or combine, a large number of compound or composite fevers (*tab-ad-yi murakkab*) arises, each presenting different and characteristic symptoms. Thus two types of intermittent fever may co-exist, or two types of continuous fever, or an intermittent with a continuous fever, so that the diagnosis may be very difficult. Generally speaking, quotidian fever (Arab. *humūd kullī yawmī*, Pers. *tab-i-har-rūta*) arises from corruption of the phlegm (*har-pham*); tertian (Arab. *ghūbb*) from that of the bile (*safrā*); quartan is atrabillous (*tanaddud*) in origin; and semi-tertian (*shafru'l-ghūbb*) is from a combination of bilious and phlegmatic disturbance. Fevers arising from corruption in the blood, on the other hand, are continuous (*muṭbiqa*, or *lāzim*). If the blood become overheated in the vessels without undergoing corruption, the resulting fever is called *sāndkhīs* (? *συνδριξίς*). If there is corruption as well, it may affect half the blood, or less, or more, in which last case the resulting fever is called "burning" (Arab. *muḥriqa*, Pers. *nāsanda*). But if all the blood be so affected, the patient will surely die. All fevers arising from the blood are continuous, whether the affection of the blood be primary or secondary. The latter may arise from a "bloody swelling" (*dmds-i-khūnl*) of one of the internal organs, such as the stomach, liver, spleen, gall-bladder, bowels, lungs, diaphragm, muscles or nerves. Such secondary fever is not an independent disease but a symptom, and the treatment must therefore be directed to the cause. The aetiology of corruption of the humours is discussed in a subsequent section of the book (Book V, *Guftār* iii, ch. 1).

It is to be noted that in the older Arabic medical treatises, such as the *Firdawsu'l-Hikmat* (composed in A.D. 850), there is a tendency to use the original Greek nomenclature transcribed into Arabic characters instead of the Arabic translations which subsequently replaced these foreign forms. Thus we find quotidian fever called *الفيمروز* (*ἐφήμερος*) as well as *حُمى يوم*; hectic fever called *الطيقوس* (*ἐκτικός*) instead of *حُمى*; tertian *طراطاوس* (*τρεπταῖος*) instead of *حُمى غب*; and semi-tertian as *اميطراطاوس* (*ἡμιτρεπταῖος*) instead of *شطر الغب*.

The student's attention may also be directed to an excellent article on Fever (*الحُمى*) in vol. i of the *Dict. of Technical Terms*, etc., pp. 381-3, where a fourfold classification is adopted having regard to (1) causation, primary or secondary (*marād* or *arād*); (2) point of attack, as explained above (quotidian, hectic and putrid or humoristic); (3) simplicity or complexity; (4) occurrence or non-occurrence of rigors (*ndfāf*).

#### Note XXVII. Physicians and their Works mentioned in Anecdote XXXII.

(Text, pp. 70-71; Persian notes, pp. 230-8.)

It will be convenient to arrange the medical works here mentioned under their authors, and these in turn, so far as possible, in chronological

order. For the authorities to which reference is most constantly made the following abbreviations are used. By *Barhebraeus* is meant the *Mukhtasar al-Duwal* (Beyrout ed. of 1890) of Gregorius Abu'l-Faraj ibn Ahrn commonly called Ibnu'l-Ibri or Barhebraeus. The *Fihrist* of Abu'l-Faraj Muhammad ibn Abi-Ya'qub Isbāq an-Nadīm al-Warrāq is, of course, quoted from Flügel's (the only) edition. *Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a* means that author's *Uyūnu'l-Inbāʾ fi Tabagāt al-Afbbāʾ*, Cairo edition of 1299/1882, two volumes. *Qisṭī* means Jamālu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ydauf al-Qisṭī's *Ta'rikhu'l-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903). The chief European authorities quoted are Wüstenfeld's *Geschichte der Arabischen Aerzte und Naturforscher* (Göttingen, 1840), a small book but compact with useful information; Lucien Leclerc's *Histoire de la Médecine Arabe* (2 vols., Paris, 1876); Max Neuburger's *Geschichte der Medizin* (Stuttgart, 1908), especially vol. ii, pp. 142-228, "Die Medizin bei den Arabern," and the complementary *Literarhistorische Übersicht*; Pagel's *Einführung in die Geschichte der Medizin* (Berlin, 1898), ninth lecture (pp. 146-160) on Arabian Medicine; Adolf Fonahn's *Zur Quellenkunde der Persischen Medizin* (Leipzig, 1910); E. T. Withington's *Medical History from the earliest times* (London, 1894); and F. H. Garrison's *Introduction to the History of Medicine* (London and Philadelphia, 1917). As a rule, however, in these brief notes reference will only be made to the original Arabic sources.

### 1. *Bukht-Yishā'.*

Ten members of this great medical family, which for three centuries (eighth to eleventh of our era) produced some of the most eminent physicians of that time, are enumerated by Wüstenfeld (pp. 14-18, Nos. 26-35). They were Christians, as indicated by the family name, for the correct explanation of which (*Bukht-Yishā' = "Jesus hath delivered"*) we are indebted to Nöldeke<sup>1</sup>. The chief members of the family, with their affiliation, so far as it is known, were as follows:—

1. *Bukht-Yishā' I*
2. *Jurjīs I*  
(physician to al-Manṣūr, d. 151/769)
3. *Bukht-Yishā' II*  
(physician to -Mahdī, -Hādī and Hārūn'r-Rashīd, d. 185/801)
4. *Jibrā'il* (physician to Hārūn'r-Rashīd, -Amin and -Ma'mūn, d. 213/828-9)
5. *Jurjīs II*
6. *Bukht-Yishā' III* (physician to -Mu'tazz, d. 256/870)
7. *'Ubaydu'llah*  
(physician to -Mutaqī)
8. *Yahyā or Yuhannā*
9. *Jibrā'il* (physician to 'Adud'd-Dawla, d. 397/1006-9)
10. *Bukht-Yishā' IV* (physician to -Muqtadir, d. 339/940-1)
11. *Abū Sa'id 'Ubaydu'llah*  
(d. 450/1058-9)

<sup>1</sup> See p. 81 *supra*, n. 1 *ad calc.*

<sup>2</sup> Wüstenfeld (p. 14), following Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a (i, 123), inserts a *Jibrā'il* between *Jurjīs* and *Bukht-Yishā'*, but Qisṭī (p. 158 *etc.*) represents *Jurjīs I* as the son, not the grandson, of *Bukht-Yishā' I*.



Concerning the original Bukht-Yishd' I can find out nothing, but it may be supposed that he, like his son Jurjís, was attached to the great hospital (*Bimdristán*) and medical school of his native town Jundi-Sábr. This once famous Persian city, of which hardly a trace now remains, though its site has been identified by Rawlinson<sup>1</sup> as the modern Sháh-ábád, about mid-way between Dizful and Sháshtar, was originally founded by Shápúr I, and named, according to Tabarí<sup>2</sup>, *Beh-as-Andhw-i-Shápúr*, or "Shápúr's 'Better than Antioch,'" a name gradually shortened to Gundê-Shápúr, or, in its Arabic form, Junday-Sábr. "It was enlarged into a great city," says Rawlinson, "by his seventh successor Shápúr II *'Dhu'l-Aktáf'* (A.D. 309-379)...and during his reign became the see of a bishop of the Nestorian Church which had been instituted in Súsiana a century before; and when Jundi-Sábr soon afterwards rose to be the chief city of the province, the seat of the metropolitan, which had been formerly fixed at Ahwáz, or, as it is called by the Syrians, Bêth Lápât<sup>3</sup>, was transferred to it. The School of Jundi-Sábr was renowned, during the reign of Anúsharwán (A.D. 531-578), through the East and West; and the city continued, to the time of the Arab conquest, one of the great capitals of Súsiana. It appears to have sunk before the rising greatness of Sháshtar in the thirteenth century; and it is little mentioned in Oriental History after that time."

On the destruction of the great Persian school of Edessa in A.D. 488-9 by order of the Emperor Zeno<sup>4</sup> many of its learned Nestorian professors and physicians sought refuge from Byzantine fanaticism under the more tolerant rule of the Sásánians at Jundi-Sábr, and gave a fresh impulse to its activity. During the Arab invasion of Persia (A.H. 15-17; A.D. 636-8) it surrendered on terms to the Muslims<sup>5</sup>, and its school apparently continued unmolested until the early 'Abbásid period, when the Caliph al-Manşúr (A.H. 136-158; A.D. 756-775), being grievously ill, summoned Jurjís I, son of Bukht-Yishd' I, to Baghdád, where he remained, greatly trusted and honoured, in spite of his refusal to forsake the Christian for the Muhammadan faith, until A.H. 152 (A.D. 769), when, being himself sick unto death, he obtained the Caliph's permission to return home. From that time onwards until the middle of the eleventh century some member of the family was always one of the chief physicians of the Court at Baghdád. Lengthy notices of most of those enumerated above, with lists of their medical and other works, are given by Qiftí, Ibn Abí Usaybi'a and other medical biographers. For such as do not read Arabic the information given by Wüstenfeld (pp. 14-18) and Leclerc (i, pp. 95-103) will probably suffice. It is uncertain whether the Bukht-Yishd' mentioned in the text (Anecdote XXXIII) is intended to be the father or the son of Jibrá'il. The former died twelve years before al-Ma'mún's accession, while the latter survived him thirty-seven years.

<sup>1</sup> *Notes on a March from Zoháb to Khárisán* in the *J.R. Geogr. Soc.* for 1839, vol. ix, pp. 71-72. See also Layard's remarks in vol. xvi, p. 86, of the same Journal.

<sup>2</sup> See Nöldeke's *Gesch. d. Pers. u. Arab. zur Zeit d. Sasaniden* (Leyden, 1879), pp. 40-42.

<sup>3</sup> See Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> See Dr W. Wright's *Syriac Literature*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>5</sup> See Baládhuri's *Futúhu'l-Buládn* (ed. de Goeje), pp. 382-385.

An anecdote in the *Kitāb al-Bukhālā* ("Book of Misers")<sup>1</sup> of al-Jāhiz in which an Arab physician, Asad ibn Jānī, complains that patients will not consult him because, amongst other reasons, "his language is Arabic, and it should have been the language of Jundi-Sābūr," shews how great was the repute of that famous school of Medicine in early 'Abbāsid times. Exactly what this language was is uncertain. Ibn Hawqal<sup>2</sup> says that, besides Arabic and Persian, the people of Jundi-Sābūr have another speech of Khūzistān which is neither Hebrew, nor Syriac, nor Persian; while in the *Mandhijāt al-Fikar* it is said that they have a language peculiar to themselves, resembling a jargon (*rafāna*), though the Persian language is prevalent amongst them<sup>3</sup>. Speaking of their religion al-Muqaddasi<sup>4</sup> says that in his time (middle of the tenth century of the Christian era) there were few Christians and not many Jews and Zoroastrians, and that of the Muslims many were Mu'tazilites, Shī'a (especially at Ahwāz) and Hanbalites.

2. *Hunayn ibn Ishāq al-'Iḍḍī*.

This was another Christian scholar, well known to mediæval Europe under the name of Joannitius, who rendered signal services to Arabian science, together with his sons Dā'ūd and Ishāq and his nephew Hubaysh, all of whom were skilful and industrious translators of Greek books into Arabic. He was a Nestorian of Hīra, where his father was an apothecary, and early in the ninth century of the Christian era came to Baghdād, where he studied under the celebrated Yahyā (or Yuhannā) Māsawayh (Mesuē senior) of Jundi-Sābūr, a pupil of Jibrā'il ibn Bukht-Yishū'. Offended at some real or fancied slight, he went off to study Greek amongst the Greeks<sup>5</sup>, and some years later was seen by one of his former acquaintances in the guise of a long-haired wandering bard reciting Homer in the streets. Later he returned to Baghdād, having perfected his knowledge of Greek, and applied himself to the study of Arabic under Khalīf ibn Aḥmad. He then became so excellent as a translator from Greek into Arabic that Jibrā'il ibn Bukht-Yishū' said of him, "By God, if his life be prolonged he will assuredly put Sergius<sup>6</sup> to shame!" He attracted the notice, and finally, after undergoing a cruel test of his professional honour<sup>7</sup>, won the confidence of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-851), but finally succumbed to the intrigues of his rivals, was excommunicated by Bishop Theodosius, and died in A.H. 260 (A.D. 873). Wüstenfeld (pp. 28-9) enumerates 33 of his original works and a number of his translations from the Greek, including the Aphorisms (*Fuṣūṣ*) of Hippocrates. His son Ishāq died in A.D. 910 or 911, and his nephew Hubaysh about the same time.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Van Vloten (Leyden, 1900), pp. 109-110.

<sup>2</sup> De Goeje's *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vol. ii, pp. 173-174.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a specially mentions that both Jurjis I (vol. i, p. 124) and his son Bukht-Yishū' (vol. i, p. 126), on being presented to the Caliphs al-Manṣūr and Hārūn'r-Rashid respectively, prayed for them in Arabic and Persian.

<sup>4</sup> De Goeje's *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vol. iii, pp. 414-415.

<sup>5</sup> Qifti, pp. 174-175.

<sup>6</sup> Sergius of Ra's 'Ayn flourished about A.D. 856, and translated the Greek sciences into Syriac. See Wright's *Syriac Literature*, pp. 88-93.

<sup>7</sup> Qifti, p. 176.



his great work the *Hāwī* (or "Continens" of mediaeval Europe), so far as I can judge from the portions of it accessible to me in the original Arabic, stands on an altogether different plane from the *Qadīm* of Avicenna or any other Arabic system of Medicine.

The year of Rāzī's birth is not recorded, but he seems to have spent the first thirty years of his life in his native town of Ray (situated near the modern Persian capital Tīhrān), from which he derived the name by which he is generally known, without becoming famous for anything except an unusual skill in music and singing. He was then seized with a desire to study Medicine and Philosophy, went to Baghdād, and there became the pupil of 'Alī ibn Rabban<sup>1</sup> at-Tabarī, formerly physician to the unfortunate Persian rebel Māzyā, and afterwards to the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, for whom in A.D. 850 he composed his remarkable work the "Paradise of Wisdom" (*Firdawsu'l-Hikmat*). Having completed his medical studies he became director first of the hospital at Ray and then at Baghdād<sup>2</sup>. He also devoted some attention to Alchemy, on which he composed 12 books<sup>3</sup>, but the study brought him no luck, for, being unable to translate his theories into practice, he was struck on the head by his disappointed patron Maṣṣūr, governor of Ray, in consequence of which he became blind. He refused to undergo an operation on his eyes on ascertaining that the surgeon who was to perform it was ignorant of the anatomy of the eye, adding afterwards that he had looked on the world until he was tired of it.

The marvellous acumen displayed and the wonderful cures effected by him form the subject of numerous anecdotes similar in character to No. XXXV in this book in such collections of stories as the Arabic *al-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda* ("Joy after Sorrow") of at-Tanūkhī<sup>4</sup> and the Persian *Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt* of 'Awfī.

Rāzī was a most prolific writer, and Qifī (pp. 274-7) enumerates more than a hundred of his works; most of which, unfortunately, are lost, while only a very few have been printed in the original, to wit his celebrated treatise on small-pox and measles<sup>5</sup>, his work on stone in the kidneys and bladder<sup>6</sup>, and the anatomical portion of the *Manṣūrī*. Latin versions of the *Hāwī* ("Continens"), *Manṣūrī* ("Liber ad Almansorem"), and various smaller works were made and widely read in mediaeval Europe, and were in many cases printed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They are enumerated by Dr Ludwig Choulant in his *Handbuch der Bücherkunde für die Ältere Medizin* (Leipzig, 1841), pp. 340-5. One of the most interesting of Rāzī's minor works, in which he discusses the reasons why quacks often enjoy

<sup>1</sup> His father's name is often wrongly given as Zayn (زین), but he explicitly states in the Introduction to his *Firdawsu'l-Hikmat*, or "Paradise of Wisdom," that he was called Rabban (ربان), "that is to say, our master and teacher." Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (l. 186) explains the title in precisely the same sense.

<sup>2</sup> Qifī, p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.

<sup>4</sup> See the edition of this work printed at the Hīlāl Press, Cairo, in 1903, vol. ii, p. 96. The author was born in 327/938-9 and died in 384/994-5.

<sup>5</sup> *De Variolis et Morbillis, arabice et latine, cura Joh. Channing* (London, 1766).

<sup>6</sup> *Traité sur le Calcul dans les Reins et dans la Vessie...traduction accompagnée du texte par P. de Koning* (Leyden, 1896).

<sup>7</sup> *Trois Traittés d'Anatomie arabe...texte et traduction par P. de Koning* (Leyden, 1903), pp. 2-89.

greater popularity than properly qualified physicians, has been translated into German by the learned Moritz Steinschneider and published in Virchow's *Archiv* (vol. xxxvi, 1865, pp. 570-586). This is entitled "Wissenschaft und Charlatanerie unter den Arabern im neunten Jahrhundert," and appears to be identical with the tract described by Qifti (p. 274) as *Kitāb fī 'Asbabī'l-mumayyila li-qulūbī'n-Nās 'an afādīlī'l-Atibbī' ila akhissā'ihim*, on "the causes which incline men's hearts from the most eminent of physicians to the vilest of them."

Only four of Rāzī's numerous works are mentioned in the *Chahār Maqāla*. One of them, the *Tuhfatul-Mulūk* (p. 71, l. 22 of the text), is nowhere else mentioned by this title, and cannot be identified. Another, here called the *Murshid* ("Guide"), is properly entitled *al-Fuṣūl fī 'Tibb* ("Aphorisms in Medicine"). The two remaining works, the *Manṣūrī* and the *Ḥidwī*, are more important (especially the last named), and deserve somewhat fuller mention.

*Al-Kitābu'l-Manṣūrī* ("Liber ad Almansorem").

A great deal of confusion exists, even amongst Oriental writers, as to the identity of the Manṣūr to whom Rāzī dedicated this work, and at whose hands (as narrated above) he finally suffered such indignity. Yāqūt<sup>1</sup> alone correctly identifies him as Manṣūr ibn Ishāq ibn Aḥmad ibn Asad, who was appointed Governor of Ray in A.H. 290 (A.D. 903) by his cousin Aḥmad ibn Isma'il ibn Aḥmad ibn Asad ibn Sāmān, the second King of that Royal House, held that position until A.H. 296 (A.D. 908-9), and rebelled against Naṣr II ibn Aḥmad ibn Isma'il in A.H. 302 (A.D. 914-915). All other authorities, even those generally most trustworthy, seem, as Mīrzā Muḥammad points out (Persian notes, pp. 231-3 and 240-1), to have fallen into error. Thus the *Fihrist* (pp. 299-300), Qifti (p. 272, ll. 21-2) and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (i, p. 310, l. 29) call Rāzī's patron "Manṣūr ibn Isma'il," a person unknown to history; or (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a in another passage, *viz.* i, p. 313, l. 20) "Manṣūr ibn Isma'il ibn Khāqān, lord of Khurāsān and Transoxiana"; or (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, i, p. 317, ll. 17-18) "Manṣūr ibn Ishāq ibn Isma'il ibn Aḥmad." Ibn Khallikān in one passage identifies him with Abū Ṣāliḥ Manṣūr ibn Ishāq ibn Aḥmad ibn Nūḥ (which is correct if we substitute "Asad" for "Nūḥ" in the genealogy), and in another falls into the same error as the author of the *Chahār Maqāla* by identifying him with the sixth Sāmānid ruler Manṣūr ibn Nūḥ ibn Naṣr, who reigned from A.H. 350 to 366 (A.D. 961-976-7), long after the death of Rāzī, which is generally placed either in the year A.H. 311 (A.D. 923-4), or in A.H. 320 (A.D. 932), though one MS. of Qifti (p. 272) puts it as late as A.H. 364 (A.D. 974-5).

The Arabic text of the *Manṣūrī* has, so far as I know, never been published in its entirety, nor are MSS. common. For his edition of the anatomical portion of the work Dr P. de Koning made use of a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (No. 2866 of de Slane's *Catalogue*). The Latin version, as already noted, has been repeatedly printed<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Choulant's *Handbuch*, pp. 341 and 343.

<sup>2</sup> *Murjānu'l-Buldan*, vol. ii, p. 901.

<sup>3</sup> See Choulant, *op. laud.*, p. 343

*Al-Kitāb al-Hidwī ("Continens").*

This is the largest and most important of the works of Rāzī. It is, moreover, a posthumous work, for after Rāzī's death Muḥammad ibn al-'Amīd, the Minister of Sulṭān Rukn al-Dawla ibn Buwayh, bought the materials and notes left by the author from his sister for a high price and placed them in the hands of a committee of his pupils to be arranged and edited. It therefore lacked the finishing touch of the Master's hand, which fact, perhaps, accounts for its somewhat inchoate character and confused arrangement. The original Arabic text has never been published; MSS. are rare and widely scattered, and it is doubtful if those which exist in the British Museum, the Bodleian, Munich and the Escorial represent in all more than half of the entire work. The Latin version, first published in 1486, and subsequently in 1500, 1506 and 1509, is rare, and has been accessible to me only in the copy marked XV. 4. 2 in the Library of King's College, Cambridge; nor do its contents agree well either with the account of the original given in the *Fihrist* (pp. 299-302) or with the manuscript volumes which I have examined in London and Oxford.

The *Fihrist* (p. 300) and Qifī describe the book as comprising twelve parts, thus enumerated by the former:—

- (i) The treatment of disease and of the sick.
- (ii) The preservation of health.
- (iii) Fractures, dislocations and surgical operations.
- (iv) Materia medica and diet.
- (v) Compound medicaments.
- (vi) The Art of Medicine.
- (vii) Apothecariants; colours, tastes and smells of drugs.
- (viii) Bodies.
- (ix) Weights and measures.
- (x) The anatomical structure and uses of the different members.
- (xi) Natural causes in Medicine.
- (xii) Introduction to the study of Medicine; medical names and first principles of Medicine.

The Latin version, on the other hand (Brixæ, October 18, 1486), comprises twenty-five parts<sup>1</sup> entitled as follows:—

- (1) De morbis cerebri.
- (2) De oculis.
- (3) De auribus, naribus, lingua et gula.
- (4) De asmate, peripleumonia et pleuresi.
- (5) De passionibus stomachi.
- (6) De evacuationibus.
- (7) De passionibus cordis et epatis et splenis.

<sup>1</sup> But according to Choulant (p. 343) the Venice edition of A.D. 1509 is divided into 37 books. In the following table I have retained the original spelling, except in the case of ligatures and contractions.

- (8) De passionibus intestinorum.
- (9) De clisteribus et morbis matricis.
- (10) De passionibus renum.
- (11) De passionibus vesice, hernia, vermibus et calbo (?) emorroidibus et spermate.
- (12) De arthetica et varicibus.
- (13) De squirros et aliis apostematibus.
- (14) De eo quod dissolvit sanem.
- (15) De dislocatione et minutione.
- (16) De prognosticis et summy februm.
- (17) De effluera et ethica (scilicet ectica).
- (18) De quotidiana, quartana, rigore et aliis.
- (19) De crisi.
- (20) De urina et venenis.
- (21) De simplicibus medicinis, incipiendo a Camomille usque ad Dausar.
- (22) De simplicibus medicinis, incipiendo a Dausar usque ad Cordumeni.
- (23) De simplicibus medicinis, incipiendo a Cordumeni complet totum.
- (24) De electionibus et sophisticationibus medicinarum simplicium tabulâ.
- (25) De regimine sanitatis.

Since the *Hâvî* or "Continens" must be regarded as the most important work of the greatest of "Arabian" physicians, access to the original text would be an essential condition of success in any detailed and comprehensive study of "Arabian" Medicine. This condition, unfortunately, is unlikely to be fulfilled, for who would undertake the labour of editing, or pay the cost of printing, for so large and so crabbed an exposition of an obsolete science? And even were the difficulty of finding an editor and a publisher overcome, it is doubtful if the manuscript materials are sufficient; if, indeed, more than half the work is still extant. Of the MSS. I have only been able to examine cursorily those in the British Museum and the Bodleian. Laud 289 in the latter is described as containing Part (or Book) I of the work; but since it deals not only with the diseases of the Brain, but also of the Throat, Lungs and Stomach it would appear to correspond with Books I-V of the Latin translation. Marsh 156 in the same library is described as containing Books VI and VII, but, to judge by the contents, appears rather to contain Books XVI and XVII. The third Bodleian MS., Or. 561, is described by Uri (ii, 162), apparently correctly, as containing Books XXIV and XXV, and deals chiefly with drugs and diet; but beginning with a glossary, alphabetically arranged, of the different organs and the diseases to which they are subject, followed by the *Kitâb hallîr-Rumâ wa Saydalâtî-Tîbb* on Materia Medica, and "Rules for the use of foods and drinks for the preservation

of Health," etc. The British Museum MS. Arundel Or. 14 contains Books VIII, IX and X; while Books IV, V, VI and XI are said to be preserved in the Escorial; Book XII (? XIX) at Munich; and another MS. of Book IV in the Khedivial Library at Cairo. Should these identifications prove correct, Books I-VI, VIII-XI, XVI-XVII, and XXIV-XXV (i.e. 14 out of the 25 Books) would appear to be extant, while others, still undescribed and unidentified, probably exist elsewhere.

One very important and interesting feature of the Bodleian MS. Marsh 156 is that six leaves of it (ff. 239<sup>b</sup>-245<sup>b</sup>) contain clinical reports of some two dozen of Rāzī's own cases which presented some unusual features rendering the diagnosis difficult. The name of the patient, the signs and symptoms of the disease, the initial and final diagnosis and treatment, with the termination of the case, are fully described with great clearness and acumen; and these cases, which certainly deserve publication, quite bear out Rāzī's high repute as a clinical observer<sup>1</sup>.

#### 5. *Abū'l-Khayr ibn Khamdār*.

This was another eminent philosopher, physician and logician, born at Baghdād in A.H. 331 (A.D. 942-3), with whom the author of the *Fihrist* was personally acquainted<sup>2</sup>. The date of his death is unknown, but from Anecdote XXXVI it is clear that he survived the year A.H. 408 (A.D. 1017-8) in which Sultān Maḥmūd conquered Khwārazm. His full name was Abū'l-Khayr al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār ibn Bābā ibn Bahrām (or, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, Bihnām), and he was a Christian, apparently of Persian ancestry. He made translations from Syriac into Arabic. Fifteen of his works are enumerated by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a<sup>3</sup>, but it is uncertain whether any of them still exist.

#### 6. *Abū Naṣr ibn 'Arrāq*.

He was another contemporary of al-Bīrdnī, in whose name he composed twelve astronomical and mathematical tracts<sup>4</sup>. His full name was Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr ibn 'Alī ibn 'Arrāq *Mawla Amīrī'l-Mā'mūn*. He was descended from the old kings of Khwārazm, who claimed descent from the legendary Kay-Khusraw, and who maintained a quasi-independent sovereignty until the tenth Christian century. The penultimate king or prince of this line, Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Arrāq, revised and corrected the Khwārazmian Calendar, while the last of them, Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Arrāq, is entitled by al-Bīrdnī "*Shahīd*" ("the Martyr"). This, like so many other ancient and noble Persian families, seems to have been destroyed or dispersed by Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna. There is no justification for our author's assertion that Abū Naṣr ibn 'Arrāq was the nephew of Khwārazmshāh.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Neuburger, ii, pp. 168-175.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 245 and 265 of that work.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, i, p. 333.

<sup>4</sup> See p. xlviii of the *Einführung* of Sachau's edition of the *Ātharū'l-Biqāya*, where they are enumerated; and also pp. 246-249 of the Persian notes to the *Chahār Maqālā*.

<sup>5</sup> Al-Bīrdnī's references to these two kings occur on pp. 241 and 35-36 of *al-Ātharū'l-Biqāya*.



7. *Abū Sahl Sa'id ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azīz an-Nīlī*.

He was a poet as well as a physician, and is consequently mentioned by Tha'alibī in his *Yatīmātū'd-Dahr* as well as by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a in his *Tabaqātū'l-Atibbā'*. His brother Abū 'Abdu'r-Rahmān was as eminent in Jurisprudence as he was in Medicine. Only two or three of his medical works (commentaries on Hippocrates and Galen, an epitome of Hunayn's "Questions" or *Maṣā'il*, and extracts from Rāzī's commentaries) are mentioned.

8. *'Alī ibnū'l-'Abbās al-Majūsī*.

This notable physician, known to mediaeval Europe as "Haly Abbas," and bearing, as well as al-Majūsī ("the Magian," presumably because his father or grandfather was converted to Islam from the Zoroastrian religion), the *nīsbat* of al-Ahwāzī and al-Arrajānī, was the pupil of Abū Māhīr Mūsā ibn Yūsuf ibn Sayyār and afterwards court-physician to 'Aḍud-d-Dawla, and died in A.H. 384 (A.D. 994-5). The notices of him given by Qifṭī (p. 232) and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (i, pp. 236-7) are very meagre, and he is chiefly known through his great work the *Kāmilū'l-Sind'at* ("Perfect Practitioner") or *Kitābu'l-Maliki* ("Liber Regius"), of which there is a good edition of the original Arabic text printed at Cairo in 2 vols. in 1294/1877, besides an edition lithographed at Lahore in 1283/1866. This book enjoyed a great reputation, though it was, as Qifṭī tells us, to some extent eclipsed by Avicenna's *Qānūn*, which was deemed stronger on the theoretical, though less strong on the practical side. It was translated into Latin, and this translation was printed at Venice in A.D. 1492 and again at Lyons in A.D. 1523. The title-page of the latter edition bears the following legend:—

*Liber totius Medecinae necessaria continens quem sapientissimus Haly filius Abbāz discipulus abimeher moysi filii seiar edidit: regique inscripsit. unde et regalis dispositionis nomen assumpsit et a Stephano philosophiae discipulo ex arabica lingua in Latinam satis ornatam reductus necnon a domino Michale de Capella, artium et medecinae doctore, secundis nominis a multis et diversis autoribus ab eo collectis illustratur, summāque cum diligentia impressus.*

Each volume, the first dealing with the theory and the second with the practice of Medicine, contains ten Discourses (*Maqālid*), which are subdivided into numerous chapters. The anatomical portion of the first volume (*Maqālas* ii and iii), comprising 53 chapters, has, as already been mentioned, been published with a French translation by Dr P. de Koning in his *Trois Traités d'Anatomie arabe* (Leyden, 1903).

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i, pp. 233-234.

<sup>2</sup> Mirzā Muḥammad (Persian notes, p. 234) thinks that he himself was a Magian, but if so how could he have been called 'Alī and his father al-'Abbās? In the Cairo edition of his *Kāmilū'l-Sind'at* "Majūsī" has been wantonly pointed as "Mujawwisi" or "Mujawwasi," in order, I suppose, to attempt to conceal his Zoroastrian origin. Mirzā Muḥammad, however, after reading this note, has supplied me with many instances derived from such respectable authorities as aṣ-Ṣābi, Qifṭī, Ibn Khallikān, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, etc., of Jews, Christians and other non-Muslims bearing Muḥammadan names, titles and kunyas.

The *Kāmilū's-Sind'a* is, in my opinion, far superior in style, arrangement and interest to Avicenna's *Qānūn*, and the author's estimate of his predecessors, both the "Ancients" (i.e. the Greeks, especially Hippocrates, Galen, Oribasius and Paul of Aegina) and the "Moderns" (i.e. the Syrians and Arabs, such as Ahrūn, Ibn Serapion, Rāzī, etc.) is admirable, as is the model description of Pleurisy which he gives as a specimen of the method he proposes to employ in the description of each disease. Dr Lucien Leclerc (*Hist. de la Médecine Arabe*, vol. i, pp. 383-8) gives a French translation of the opening portion.

9. *Abū Sahl-i-Masḥī*.

This writer's full name is Abū Sahl 'Isā ibn Yabyā al-Masḥī (the Christian) al-Jurjānī (of Gurgān, Jurjān or Hyrcania), and his work, here called *Sad Bāb* (the "Hundred Chapters"), properly bears the Arabic title of *Kitābū'l-Mī'a fī'l-Ṭibb* (the "Book of the Hundred on Medicine"), or *al-Mī'atu Maqāla* (the "Hundred Discourses"). Born in Jurjān, the author studied chiefly at Baghdād, and was one of Avicenna's teachers, and one of the numerous men of learning who found patronage and protection at the Court of Ma'mūn ibn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh and his son Abū'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn ibn Ma'mūn, killed in 407/1016-7. His friend Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrdī enumerates twelve books and treatises which Abū Sahl composed in his honour and dedicated or ascribed to him<sup>1</sup>. Wüstenfeld gives 390/1000 as the year of Abū Sahl's death, but it is not clear on what authority.

10. *Avicenna* (Shaykh Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā).

So much has been written about this celebrated philosopher and physician that it will be sufficient here to recapitulate the chief facts of his life. These are particularly well authenticated by his autobiography, which carries the narrative down to the time of his father's death, when he was twenty-one years of age, and its continuation by his friend and pupil Abū 'Ubayd al-Jūzjānī<sup>2</sup>. An excellent summary, together with a list of nearly one hundred of his books, will be found in Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, vol. i, pp. 452-8, and there is an independent work on him (considered rather as a philosopher than a physician) by Baron Carra de Vaux<sup>3</sup>. Accounts of him, of varying degrees of completeness and accuracy, are naturally to be found in most Muhammadan biographical works composed subsequently to the eleventh century of our era. His intellectual influence, not only in the Islamic world, but, until the Renaissance, in Europe also, was immense. Brockelmann (*op. laud.*, i, 453) well says:—"He displayed an extraordinarily fruitful activity in the most varied fields of learning, especially in Philosophy and Medicine. His works, indeed, lack originality throughout; but, because they set forth in an elegant and easily intelligible form almost all the profane learning of his time, they have exercised an enduring influence on scientific studies, not only in the East, but also in Europe."

<sup>1</sup> See pp. xlvii-xlviii of the Preface to Sachau's edition of al-Bīrdī's *Āthārū 'l-Bidāya* (Leipzig, 1876).

<sup>2</sup> For the Arabic text of them, see al-Qifī (ed. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903), pp. 412-426.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Grands Philosophes: Avicenna* (Paris, 1900).

Abū 'Alī al-Husayn ibn 'Abdu'llāh ibn Sīnā (better known in the West by the Europeanized form of his name **Avicenna**, and commonly called in Persia, his native country, **ash-Shaykhu'r-Ra'ī**, "the Chief Doctor," or **al-Mu'allimu'th-Thānī**, "the Second Great Teacher") was born in August, A.D. 980, in a village near Bukhārā, where he received his earlier education, the philosopher an-Nātilī and the physician 'Isā ibn Yahyā being amongst his teachers. At the early age of 17 he achieved medical renown by his successful treatment of the Sāmānid prince Nūh ibn Manjūr (reigned A.D. 976-997). On his father's death, when he was about 21 years of age, he went to Khwārazm, the circumstances of his departure from which are described in Anecdote XXXVI. Attracted to Tabaristān by the fame of Qābūs ibn Washmīr, he arrived there, as he himself says<sup>1</sup>, only to find that that talented but unfortunate prince had been deposed and cast into prison, where he was soon afterwards murdered (403/1012-3). Avicenna subsequently became minister to Shamsu'd-Dawla at Hamadān, where he suffered disgrace and imprisonment, but presently escaped to Isfahān, and entered the service of 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Dushmanziyār of the so-called Kākāwayhid dynasty<sup>2</sup>, for whom he wrote his Persian Encyclopaedia of the Sciences called in his honour *Dānish-nāma-i-'Alā'i*<sup>3</sup>. He died of colic on the march to Hamadān (where his tomb still exists) in 428/1037, at the age of 58 lunar years, after a short illness for which he treated himself with less than his usual success, so that it was said of him by a contemporary satirist<sup>4</sup>:—

رَأَيْتُ ابْنَ سِينَا يُعَادِي الرِّجَالَ      وَبِالْحَسِّ مَاتَ أَحْسَ الْمَمَاتِ  
فَلَمْ يُشَفِّ مَا نَالَهُ بِالشِّفَا      وَلَمْ يَنْجُ مِنْ مَوْتِهِ بِالنَّجَاتِ

<sup>1</sup> "I saw Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) contending with men, but he died in prison (or, of constipation) the most ignoble death ;

<sup>2</sup> "What he attained by the *Shifā* (or, by healing) did not secure his health, nor did he escape death by his *Najāt* (or 'Deliverance')."

In these verses there are three ingenious word-plays, for *ḥabs* means both "imprisonment" and "constipation," while two of his most famous works are entitled *Shifā* ("Healing") and *Najāt* ("Deliverance").

Besides his medical and philosophical works, Avicenna wrote a good deal of fine poetry in Arabic and a few quatrains (some of which are often ascribed to 'Umar-i-Khayyām) in Persian. The latter have been collected by the late Dr Hermann Ethé<sup>5</sup>, and of the former a considerable number are given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a<sup>6</sup>. Of his beautiful Arabic *qaṣīda* on the descent of the soul into the body a translation will be found in vol. II of my *Literary History of Persia* (pp. 110-111). Another remarkable *qaṣīda*<sup>7</sup> ascribed to him foretells with extraordinary prevision the Mongol invasion, the sack of Baghdād, the murder of the Caliph,

<sup>1</sup> See the note on p. 79, l. 23 of the text (Persian notes, pp. 250-251).

<sup>2</sup> See S. Lane-Poole's *Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 433-434. A lithographed edition of this book was published at Hyderabad in the Deccan in 1309/1891-2.

<sup>4</sup> See Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's *Tabaqāt*, vol. II, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Avicenna als persischer Lyriker* in the *Göttinger Nachrichten* for 1875, pp. 555-567.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. II, pp. 10-18.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.

and the victory of the Egyptians led by Qutuz al-Maliku'l-Muzaffar over the Tartars at 'Ayn Jalût in A.D. 1260, these predictions being based on astrological considerations connected with the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Capricorn "the Mansion of Saturn." Another poem contains medical advice as to the treatment of an ulcer on the forehead addressed to the Wazir Abû Tâlib al-'Alawî, who had consulted Avicenna on this subject, in similar verses<sup>1</sup>. There are also some remarkable verses in praise of wine, which is compared to "blood of gold," the Christian Trinity, and the First Cause. His literary activity was prodigious and varied, extending to almost every branch of letters and learning, as may be seen by glancing at the lists of his works given by Ibn Abî Usaybi'a<sup>2</sup> and Brockelmann. Of these only three are specifically mentioned in the *Chahâr Maqâlâ*, namely the *Kitâb al-Mabdh' wa'l-Ma'âd*, quoted by Mirzâ Muḥammad<sup>3</sup> from the British Museum MS.; the book entitled "How to guard against various mistakes in medical treatment," printed at Bîlâq in the margins of ar-Râzî's *Maḥṣū'at al-aghḍhiya wa daf'u maḍḍri-hâ* under the title of *Daf'u'l-maḍḍri'at-kullîyya 'an'l-abbânî-l-insânîyya*<sup>4</sup>; and the *Qânûn*, the largest and most famous of Avicenna's medical writings. In the preparation of the FitzPatrick lectures on "Arabian Medicine" which I delivered at the Royal College of Physicians in November 1919 and 1920, and which will I hope be published in the course of 1921, I made use of the fine but not very correct edition printed at Rome in A.D. 1593, but there is also a Bîlâq edition in two volumes. A good account of the various editions and Latin translations will be found in Dr Ludwig Choulant's *Handbuch der Bücherkunde für die Ältere Medizin* (Leipzig, 1841), pp. 359-368. See also Moritz Steinschneider's *Die Europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*<sup>5</sup> in the Index s.v. "Avicenna."

In Anecdote XXXVIII the narrator, Abû Kâlanjâs, mentions four other disciples of Avicenna, concerning three of whom Mirzâ Muḥammad gives some valuable information in the Persian notes on pp. 101-102. Bahmanyâr's full name was Abû'l-Ḥasan Bahmanyâr ibn Marzubân al-Ādharbayjânî al-Majûsî, and he died in 458/1066. A few of his writings exist in manuscript, and two of his metaphysical treatises were printed at Leipzig in A.D. 1851. Abû Maṣṣûr al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Zîla al-Isfahânî died in 440/1048-9. The assertion that he was a Zoroastrian is unsupported by evidence, and, in view of the names of his father and grandfather, appears very improbable<sup>6</sup>. There exist in the British Museum MSS. of two of his treatises, one on Music, entitled *al-Kâfi* (Or. 2361), and the other a Commentary on Avicenna's *Story of Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓân*.

Far more important than these two was Abû 'Ubayd Abdu'l-Wâhid ibn Muḥammad al-Jûzjânî, who first became acquainted with Avicenna in Jurjân in 403/1012-3<sup>7</sup>. Avicenna was then about thirty-two years old, and

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit., pp. 18-20.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 14. of the Persian notes.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>5</sup> Published in two parts with separate pagination in the *Sitzungsberichte d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissensch. (Philos.-histor. Klasse)*, Vienna, 1902 and 1903.

<sup>6</sup> Compare, however, note 2 at the foot of p. 124 *supra*.

<sup>7</sup> Mirzâ Muḥammad has established this date from the writings of both Avicenna and al-Jûzjânî. See Persian notes, pp. 101-102 *ad calc.*

al-Jūzjānī was thenceforth constantly with him until his death in 428/1037, always urging him to record his knowledge in books while he lived, and preserving these writings from destruction after his death. For Avicenna, as recorded in the *Chahār Maqdā* (p. 92 *supra*), distracted by the rival claims of learning, pleasure and statecraft, enjoyed little leisure and tranquillity, and when he wrote a book would often give the original to the person who had asked him to write it without keeping a copy for himself. After his death al-Jūzjānī sought out these scattered writings wherever they could be found and arranged and edited them, while in other cases he actually assisted in their composition. Thus the *Dānish-nāma-i 'Alā'*, Avicenna's most important Persian work, composed for and dedicated to 'Alī'u'd-Dawla Abū Ja'far Kākūya, was designed to treat of Logic, Metaphysics, Natural Science, Mathematics, Astronomy, Music and Arithmetic; but after his death only the first three sections could be found. The missing portions were therefore compiled and translated by al-Jūzjānī from the *Shifā* and other Arabic works of his master, and the lacuna thus filled. We also owe to al-Jūzjānī the continuation of Avicenna's autobiography from the time of their first meeting in Jurjān down to his death. The full text of this is given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a<sup>1</sup> and an abridgement of it by al-Qiftī<sup>2</sup>.

#### 11. Sayyid Isma'īl Jurjānī.

This is probably the first Muslim physician who used the Persian language chiefly or exclusively in writing on scientific subjects, or at least the first whose works have come down to us. He gives his name and genealogy as follows in the Introduction to his *Dhakhkhra-i Khwārazmshāhī*<sup>3</sup>:—Isma'īl ibnū'l-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Jurjānī. Fonahn<sup>4</sup> gives his father's name as Aḥmad instead of al-Ḥasan, his *laqab* as Zaynu'd-Dīn, and his *kunya* as Abū Ibrāhīm; while Rieu<sup>5</sup> transposes Muḥammad and Aḥmad in his pedigree; and Leclerc<sup>6</sup> calls him Abū'l-Faḍāl and Sharafu'd-Dīn. Little is known of his life except that he came to Khwārazm (Khiva) and entered the service of Qutbu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh in 504/1110–1111, composed the four medical works (*Aghrad*, *Dhakhkhra*, *Khuffi* and *Yaddār*), mentioned in the *Chahār Maqdā*, and died at Merv in or about the year 531/1136–7.

The contents of the *Aghrad-i Tibb* ("Aims of Medicine"), composed for the Minister of Atsiz Khwārazmshāh (reigned A.D. 1127–1156), and the manuscripts of it existing in different libraries are fully described by Fonahn<sup>4</sup>, as are the *Khuffi-i 'Alā'* (composed in A.D. 1113) and the *Yaddār-i Tibb* ("Medical Memoranda")<sup>7</sup>, which deals with Pharmaco-

<sup>1</sup> As already noted, the text was lithographed in India in 1309/1891–2, but is rare. Mr A. G. Ellis most kindly placed his copy at my disposal. Mirzā Muḥammad mentions two MSS. in the British Museum, viz. Add. 16,830 and Add. 16,659, ff. 158<sup>v</sup>–341<sup>v</sup>, and there is another, Or. 16,830. See Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 432–434.

<sup>2</sup> *Tahqiqat-i Atibbī*, ii, pp. 4–9.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 417–426 of Lippert's edition.

<sup>4</sup> In an old thirteenth century MS. of Books I–III of this work in my possession.

<sup>5</sup> *Zur Quellenkunde d. Pers. Med.*, p. 179.

<sup>6</sup> *Pers. Cat.*, p. 466.

<sup>7</sup> *Hist. de la Médecine Arabe*, vol. ii, pp. 18–20.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, No. 15, pp. 11–13.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 39, p. 25.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 280, p. 105.

logy and Therapeutics. These I have not seen, and they are completely overshadowed by his *magnum opus* the *Dhakhira-i-Khawrazmshāhi*, or "Thesaurus of Khawrazmshāh," of which I have collected several fine manuscripts and which I have studied with some care. Before speaking of it, however, I must observe that the *Khuffi* was so called from *khuff*, a boot, because it was written in two elongated narrow volumes, one of which the traveller could carry in each of his riding-boots, and that its name is not *Khaft* ("Hidden," "Secret"), as stated by Fonahn and Leclerc<sup>1</sup>.

The general contents of the *Dhakhira-i-Khawrazmshāhi* are pretty fully stated by Fonahn<sup>2</sup>, and in particular the contents of Book IX, dealing with poisons and antidotes, bites and stings of animals, etc. He also enumerates the MSS. of the work, which has never been published in the original Persian, though an Urdu translation has been lithographed in India. The complete work, of which I possess one manuscript, while another, wanting only a few leaves, and bearing the class-mark Mm. 2. 6, is preserved in the Cambridge University Library, originally comprised 9 Books<sup>3</sup>, 75 Discourses, 1107 chapters, and 450,000 words. I also possess three fine old MSS., transcribed in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, containing portions of the work, viz. (1) Books I, II and part of III; (2) Book III, Maqāla iv, Bakhsh 1 to the end of Book V; (3) Book VI, Guftār xi to the end. I also possess a more modern MS. of the whole work, and another of the whole of Book VI, Guftārs i-xxi. I have discussed this book more fully in my FitzPatrick lectures, delivered before the Royal College of Physicians in November 1919 and 1920, which are now in the press, so that I need say no more of it in this place.

#### Note XXVIII. •

Jāmī's rhymed versions of Anecdotes XXXIV (Text, p. 73) and XXXVIII (Text, pp. 82-83) in the *Silsilat al-Dhahab*.

(The text is taken from a MS. dated 997/1589 in my own possession, and Or. 425, ff. 75<sup>b</sup> and 76<sup>a</sup> in the Cambridge University Library.)

#### Anecdote XXXIV.

حکایت آن طبیب دانا که آفت زده را بی وجود اسباب معالجه کرد  
و بی دستکاری آلات و ادوات از تنگنای مرض بهرون آورد  
بیمکی از ملوک سامانی داشت دوران طبیبی ارزانی  
در همه کارها باو میداد در همه رازها باو محرم  
دادش در حضور خود پیوست لبش جمعی مخدرات بدست  
روزی از گفت و گوی خلق خلاص بود با او درون خلوت خاص

<sup>1</sup> Mirzā Muhammad has pointed out to me that, as we learn from Qifti (p. 80) and Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (l. p. 201), one of Ishāq ibn Hunayn's works was similarly entitled *Kunūdh al-Khuffi*, and that Sayyid Isma'il probably got the idea from him.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, No. 15, pp. 7-11.

<sup>3</sup> Book X on Compound Medicaments was subsequently added by the author.

پای نا مجرمان از آنجا پی، نامه مجرمان از آنجا طی  
 ناگه آمد کنبزکی چون ماه، خوان بکف پیش شاه گشت دوتاه  
 تا نهد خوان خوردهی بزمین، ریخت خلطی پشت او ز کمین  
 الف قامتش چو دال بماند، عمر چو پیروان دیرسال بماند  
 کرد چندانکه زور راست نشد، پشت او همچنانکه خواست نشد  
 گفت با آن حکیم شاه کریم، کای شفا بخش هر مزاج سقیم  
 هر درین دم گشای دست علاج، و رهانش ازین فساد مزاج  
 ماند حیران حکیم چون ایباب، بود بهر علاج او نایاب  
 دست زد معجزش ز فرق کشید، جامه اش را ز پیش رچس بدرید  
 از ازارش گشت بد بند ازار، کرد بیرونش از سرین شلوار  
 غرقه شد زان خجالت اندر غوی، خلط بکداحت در مفاصل وی  
 قامت خود ز سرو بستان راست، کرد و آزاد از زمین بر خاست  
 در طبیبی چو نیک ماهر بود، پیش او سر کار ظاهر بود  
 چون بماند از علاج جسمانی، دست زد در علاج روحانی

## Anecdote XXXVIII.

معالجه کردن شیخ ابو علی سینا آن صاحب ماعولیا را که طبیبان  
 از معالجه وی عاجز بودند<sup>۴</sup>

بود در عهد بو علی سینا، آن بکنه اصول طبیب بینا  
 ز آل بویه یکی ستوده خصال، شد بر ماعولیا پریشان حال  
 بانگ میزد که کمر بود در ده، هیچ گاه بیسان من نریسه  
 آشفز گر پزد هر یسه ز من، کردش کج سهر کیه ز من  
 زود باشید و خلق من برید، بدکان هر یسه پز سپرید  
 صبح تا شام حال او این بود، با حریفان مقال او این بود  
 نگذشتی ز روز و شب دانگی، که چو گاوان نبودش بانگی  
 که بزودی بکاردار یا خنجر، بکشیدم که می شوم لاش  
 تا بجائی رسید گو نه غذا، خوردی از دست هیچ کس نه دوا  
 اهل طب راه عجز سپردند، استغاثه ببو علی بردند  
 گفت سوبش قدم زنید ز راه، مژده گویان که بامداد بگاه

میرسد بهر گشتنت بشتاب<sup>۱</sup>      دشته در دست خواجه<sup>۲</sup> قصاب<sup>۳</sup>  
 رفت ازین مؤده زو گرانمها<sup>۴</sup>      کرد اظهار شهادمانمها<sup>۵</sup>  
 بامدادان که بو علی بر خاست<sup>۶</sup>      پند سوی منزلش که گاو کجاست<sup>۷</sup>  
 آمد و خفت در میان سرای<sup>۸</sup>      که منر گاو هان و هان پیش آی<sup>۹</sup>  
 بو علی دست و پاش سخت بست<sup>۱۰</sup>      کارد بر کارد تیز کرد و نشست<sup>۱۱</sup>  
 بُرد قصاب وار دست سویش<sup>۱۲</sup>      دید هنجار پُشت و پهلوش<sup>۱۳</sup>  
 گفت کین گاو آفرست هنوز<sup>۱۴</sup>      مصلحت نیست گشتش امروز<sup>۱۵</sup>  
 چند روزیش بر علف بندید<sup>۱۶</sup>      یال زماش گزیند میسندید<sup>۱۷</sup>  
 تا چو فرته شود برانر تیغ<sup>۱۸</sup>      نبود ذبح او فسوس و دریغ<sup>۱۹</sup>  
 دست و پایش ز بند بگشادند<sup>۲۰</sup>      خوردنهایش پیش بنهادند<sup>۲۱</sup>  
 هرچه دادندش از غذا و دوا<sup>۲۲</sup>      همه را خورد بی خلاف و ایا<sup>۲۳</sup>  
 تا چو گاوای از آن شود فریه<sup>۲۴</sup>      شد خود او از خیال گاوی به<sup>۲۵</sup>

#### NOTE XXIX. The Ma'múní Khwárazmsháhs.

(Text, p. 76; Persian notes, pp. 194 and 241-4.)

This older dynasty of Khwárazmsháhs was originally tributary to the Sámánids, but, during the interval (A.H. 380-407=A.D. 990-1016) which separated the decay of these latter rulers from the final ascendancy of the House of Ghazna it enjoyed a quasi-independence. The following are those of its rulers whose names occur in history.

##### 1. *Ma'mún ibn Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh.*

He was originally governor of Gurgánj (Jurjániyya), and in 385/995 captured and killed Abú 'Abdi'lláh Khwárazmsháh, the lord of Káth, and annexed his realms. He himself died in 388/997<sup>1</sup>. He was succeeded by his son—

##### 2. *'Alí ibn Ma'mún ibn Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh,*

who succeeded his father in the year last mentioned and married the sister of Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna. Avicenna came to Khwárazm during his reign, and met with much honour at his hands<sup>2</sup>. The date of his death is not exactly known. Abú'l-Ḥusayn Ahmad ibn Muḥammad as-Suhayl<sup>3</sup>, a great patron of learning, to whom Avicenna dedicated at least two of his works<sup>4</sup>, was Minister to him and afterwards to his brother and successor—

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Athír, vol. ix, pp. 76 and 93.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Qifí, p. 417.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 143 of the Persian notes. He fled from Khwárazm to Baghdád in 404/1013-4 and died in 418/1027 at Surra-man-ra'a.



3. *Abu'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn ibn Ma'mūn ibn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh*, the hero of Anecdote XXXVI, who was likewise a generous friend to men of learning, and, like his brother, was married to one of Sultān Maḥmūd's sisters. He continued for some time on friendly terms with this ambitious potentate, who, however, finally ordered him to recognize him as his over-lord and insert his name in the *khutba*. This Abu 'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn consented to do, but after the departure of the envoy to Ghazna his nobles rose and murdered him in 407/1016-7 when he was only thirty-two years of age.

4. *Abu'l-Ḥārith Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Ma'mūn ibn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh*.

He succeeded to the throne of the murder of his uncle, but no long while had elapsed when Sultān Maḥmūd, on the pretext of avenging his murdered brother-in-law, invaded and annexed Khwārazm and carried off as hostages or captives the survivors of the family. This happened in 408/1017-8, and the event was celebrated by 'Uḡuri in a *qaṣida* of which the opening lines are quoted by the editor<sup>1</sup>. The historian Abu 'l-Faḍl-i-Bayhaqī in his *Ta'rikh-i-Mas'ūdī*<sup>2</sup> gives an account of these events based on a lost work of Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī's on the "Notables of Khwārazm" (*Mashāḥir-i-Khwārazm*). From this it appears that al-Bīrūnī spent seven years (A.H. 400-407 = A.D. 1010-1017) at the Court of Abu'l-'Abbās, where he held various offices, and was conversant with all the circumstances which led up to his death.

In conclusion Mirzā Muḥammad observes that the Qāḍī Aḥmad-i-Ghaffārī, probably misled by the *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida* (p. 389 of the Gibb *facsimile*), in his *Nusakh-i-Jahān-nāma* confuses the dynasty discussed in this note with the Farighūnī family who acted as viceroys first for the Sāmānids and then for the Ghaznawīs in Jazīra.

Note XXX. Shāhinshāh, 'Alā'u'd-Dawla.

(Text, p. 82; Persian notes, p. 251.)

The Amīr 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Husāmu'd-Dīn Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Dushmanziyār ruled over Isfahān and the adjacent districts from 398/1007-8 to 433/1041-2, in which latter year he died. His father Dushmanziyār was the maternal uncle of Sayyida, the spirited mother of Majdu'd-Dawla<sup>3</sup> ibn Fakhru'-Dawla, the Daylamī or Buwayhid prince, and since in the Daylamī dialect "*Kākā*," or "*Kākūya*" signifies "uncle," he is often called by this title, and his son 'Alā'u'd-Dawla by the title of "*Abū Kākūya*," while the dynasty to which they belonged is called by S. Lane-Poole<sup>4</sup> "*Kākwayhid*."

<sup>1</sup> Persian notes, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Tihān lith. ed., pp. 663-677; Cairo ed. of 'Uḡurī's history with Manīnī's commentary, p. 158. Yāqūt in his "Dictionary of Learned Men" (vol. vi, p. 311 of the Gibb edition) mentions amongst al-Bīrūnī's works a *Kutub-i-Muḥammara fi Akhbārī Khwārazm*, which, as Mirzā Muḥammad points out, is probably identical with this work. He suggests, indeed, with great probability, that Bayhaqī's *Mashāḥir* (مشاهير) is probably a corrupt reading for *Muḥammara* (محمرة).

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 43-44 of my edition of Dawlatshāh.

<sup>4</sup> *Muḥammadian Dynasties*, p. 145. See also the references at the foot of p. 201 of the Persian notes.

In this Anecdote (XXXVIII) two errors occur, for Avicenna acted as Minister to Shamsu'd-Dawla ibn Fakhru'd-Dawla (brother of the above-mentioned Majdu'd-Dawla) at Hamadān, not to 'Alā'u'd-Dawla, whom he never served in this capacity, and who, moreover, lived not at Ray, but at Isfahān, whither Avicenna went to attach himself to his Court in 412/1021-2 on the death of Shamsu'd-Dawla and the accession of his son Samā'u'd-Dawla.

**Note XXXI. The Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh Anṣārī.**

(Text, p. 84; Persian notes, pp. 255-8.)

The Shaykhu'l-Islām Abū Isma'īl 'Abdu'llāh ibn Abī Maṣṣūr Muḥammad... al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī al-Hīrawī traced his pedigree to Abū Ayyūb, a well-known companion of the Prophet. He was born on Sha'bān 2, 396 (May 4, 1006), and died towards the end of A.H. 481 (March, 1088). He was a notable traditionist and theologian, and, in spite of his fanatical attachment to the narrow and anthropomorphic doctrines of the Ḥanbalī school and his hatred of philosophers, who stood in terror of him, was accounted a leading Ṣūfī. In Persia he is generally known as Khwāja 'Abdu'llāh Anṣārī. In his Persian poems and quatrains, which are highly esteemed and have been repeatedly lithographed in Persia, he calls himself Anṣārī, Pīr-i-Anṣār, and Pīr-i-Hīrī. The prayers (*Munājāt*) which he composed in Persian are also greatly admired. He used to lecture on the lives of the Saints, taking as his text the *Tubaghtu's-Sūfiyya* of as-Sulamī, and adding observations of his own. One of his disciples took down these lectures in the ancient language of Herāt, and on this version Jāmī based his well-known Hagiography the *Nafahātu'l-Uḥs*<sup>1</sup>. Of his numerous works there still exist, besides those already mentioned, a condemnation of Scholastic Philosophy (*Dhammū'l-Kalām*) in Arabic<sup>2</sup>, a less rare treatise in the same language entitled *Manāẓih-i-Sūfirin ilā'l-Haqqi'l-Mubīn*, and in Persian a tract entitled *Zādū'l-Arifīn*<sup>3</sup>; and another, of which extracts are preserved<sup>4</sup>, called the "Book of Mysteries" (*Kitāb-i-Asrār*).

Mīrzā Muḥammad gives, on the authority of the historian adh-Dhahabī, two narratives of attempts to discredit the Shaykh made by the philosophers whom he persecuted. On one occasion, when Sultān Alp Arslān the Saljūq and his great Minister Nizāmu'l-Mulk visited Herāt, they asked him why he cursed Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī, whose doctrines the Nizāmu'l-Mulk professed. After some hesitation he replied, "I do not recognize al-Ash'arī; him only I curse who does not believe that God is in Heaven." On another occasion they produced a little copper image, which, as they told the King, Anṣārī's anthropomorphism led him to worship, but he, being summoned and accused, so vehemently denied this calumny that the King, convinced of his innocence, dismissed him with honour and punished his detractors.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 1-3 of Nassau Leen's edition of this work. Mīrzā Muḥammad informs me that a MS. of these lectures in their ancient original form exists in the Nūr-i-'Uthmāniyya Library at Constantinople, and that M. Louis Massignon shewed him the copy he had made of the portion referring to the celebrated Ṣūfī al-Ḥallāj. I suppose that this is the MS. (No. 2500) to which M. Massignon refers in his striking work on the *Kitābu'l-Tamdhin* of al-Ḥallāj (Paris, 1913), p. 94, n. 4 *ad calc.*

<sup>2</sup> Add. 27,520 of the British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, p. 738.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 774.

**XXXII. Additional Note by Mr W. Gernold on the  
"Part of the Unseen" and other Astrological terms.**

"It appears to me quite patent that all theories as to what the Part of the Unseen may be are dispelled by the text of your work which clearly gives the rule (p. 131 *supra*):

"As for the Part of the Unseen, by day they compute it from the Moon and by night from the Sun, adding thereto the degree of the Ascendant, and subtracting thirty (for) each (whole sign) from the Ascendant, as before: then what remains over is the place of the Part of the Unseen."

"In the case cited, 28 Safar, *A.H.* 511 (1 July, *A.D.* 1117), the time of birth being New Moon (here shown to be at 5.32 p.m. local mean time) when both the luminaries were above the horizon, we have to deal with a day-horoscope. Therefore we count from the Moon's place to that of the Sun, which is twelve whole Signs and nothing over. The Part of the Unseen must therefore be on the Ascendant, and this must be the case at the time of every New Moon, whether it happens by day or by night. Only we have to note that as the Moon separates from the Sun the Part of Fortune is carried from the Ascendant downward to the nadir, while the Part of the Unseen is carried upward towards the midheaven, and this converse motion goes forward in each case at the rate of about 12 degrees per day until they meet again, this time in *opposition* to the Ascendant, at the full of Moon.

"I had the pleasure of seeing Mr Shirley yesterday and conferred with him in regard to his use of the term 'Alcochoden' as synonymous with 'Hyleg' or *Haylaj*, and he informed me that he derived his information from Wilson's *Dictionary of Astrology*, a work of which I am extremely suspicious, as on many occasions I have found that he treats of subjects about which he has evidently no practical experience. But I think the matter must be settled by reference to some of the Arabic or Persian works in which the term is used. The context would undoubtedly give any astrological student the clue to interpretation. If, as I think, Alcochoden is Ruler of the 12th House then its influence would be associated in the text with enemies, capture, imprisonment, etc., which would clearly indicate its evil repute, while Almuten, conversely, would be associated with friends and supporters, favours and wishes granted, etc., indicating its beneficent influence. Probably you can turn up some reference in support, or otherwise, of this view. I hope so."

"P. 6, l. 4. 'The four subservient forces' appear to answer to mental as well as physical processes thus:

The 'Force Attractive'	= Absorption = Perception,
" 'Force Retentive'	= Circulation = Cogitation,
" 'Force Assimilative'	= Secretion = Memory,
" 'Force Expulsive'	= Excretion = Expression.

"P. 63, ll. 1 and 3. The *Almagest* of Claudius Ptolemy appears, from observations recorded by him, to have been compiled about the year *A.D.* 140, for it contains no account of observations made after the

year A.D. 138. It was translated into Arabic in the ninth century by command of the Caliph Al-Ma'mûn. Persian, Hebrew, and Greek versions are also mentioned. The best English translation is that of Ashmand. Ptolemy's astrological work, the *Tetrabiblos*, or *Quadrapartite*, is a standard work on the subject in general use among modern students. The *Almagest*, *Syntaxis* and *Tetrabiblos* are works of extreme interest to astronomers and students of astrology.

"P. 67, l. 23. The 'Part of Fortune,' depending on the elongation of the Moon referred to the Ascendant of the horoscope, would of course be on the Ascendant at the time of New Moon. At First Quarter it is on the nadir, at Full Moon on the descendant, at the Last Quarter on the midheaven. Some authors compute its place by longitude in the Zodiac and others by oblique ascension or descension. The rule of Ptolemy is that it corresponds with the place held by the Moon at the time of sunrise, but he does not say whether it is local or equatorial sunrise, nor whether the 'place' of the moon is to be taken by longitude, right ascension, or oblique ascension.

"P. 67, l. 21. July 1st, A.D. 1117 is equivalent to Šafar 28, A.H. 511. This appears evident from reference to other dates occurring in the course of your pages.

"This date, July 1st, is O.S. and corresponds with July 8th N.S.

"By adding 760 years (or 40 cycles of 19 years each) to the date 1117 we get equivalent year of cycle A.D. 1877, and to the date we must add two days due to the omission of leap year days in the 12th and 16th century-years, which brings us to July 10th, 1877, when it is seen that there was a New Moon. Hence the date is correctly taken.

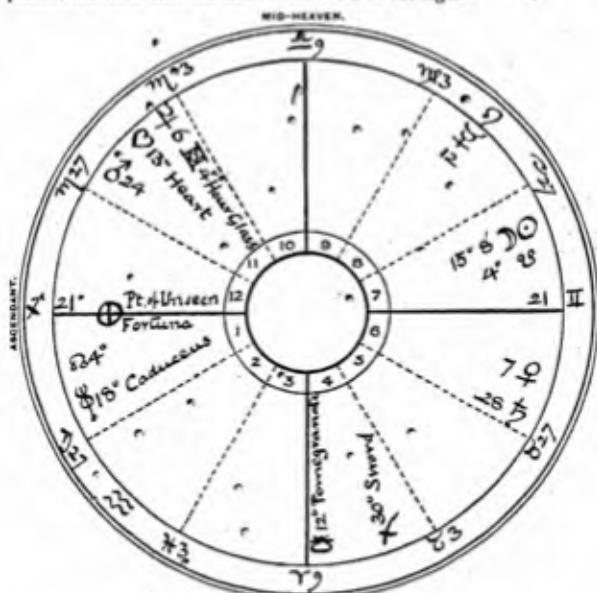
"As to the 'Part of the Unseen,' this appears from the context to be derived from a reversal of the method employed for the 'Part of Fortune.' The former is counted from the Moon to the Sun, and the latter from the Sun to the Moon, and the distance in the Zodiac is set off from the Ascendant.

"Unlike all the planetary Points to which I have drawn your attention, and which are determined by their solar elongations, the 'Part of the Unseen' appears to be a lunar Point, determined from the Sun's elongation in respect of the Moon.

"The date of birth having been fixed, we are left to find the time of birth by the reference to the positions of the Sun and Moon, which it is said were so situated that there was no space at all between them. It is not presumed that this was an observation made at the time of birth, but one that was afterwards calculated and found to be correct. The New Moon of Šafar 28, A.H. 511, took place locally in longitude 68° E. at 5.32 p.m. (G.M.T. 1 o'clock) when the luminaries were in ecliptic conjunction in Cancer 15° 8'. The Moon was then only about 11" past the S. Node, and therefore had about 57' of S. latitude. It was a partial eclipse of the Sun. The fact that this is not mentioned goes to prove that the calculation was retrogressive and that the observation was not made at the time of birth.

"The following is the horoscope set for lat. 35° N. and long. 68° E. The planets' places are put into the nearest whole degree. I do not

know what symbol was used for the 'Part of the Unseen,' and if it occurs in any of the works to which you have access, I should be glad to have it. The others, belonging to the planets, I have put in according to their traditional use among the moderns. To these we have recently added the Lightning Flash, due to Uranus, and the Web or Grille due to Neptune. They are found in the same way as the others, by the planet's distance from the Sun in the order of the signs.



The Map of the Heavens

Date: July, A.D. 1117; Hour 5:33 p.m. (local); Long. 68° E., Lat. 35° N.

"The symbol for the 'Part of the Unseen,' when found, should be placed on the Ascendant with Fortuna, and the figure will then be complete. I do not think that it will be found very far out of the true, but I am of course relying on Lunation Tables which are not quite up to date. The secular equation due to these may be as much as 5 minutes for seven centuries, as they were constructed about A.D. 1800, and are here applied to a date about 700 years previous.

"P. 64, l. 22, and pp. 130-131. *Khaty* and *Damir*—The Hindus have systems of horary astrology, called *Satyana* and *Arudha*, by which they are able to determine what is hidden and where lost property may

be found. Things held in the hand concealed have often been well described to me by Indian *Jyotshis*.

"Hyleg" or *Haylāj*—This term is in common use among astrological students, and the rules for finding it are contained in Ptolemy's work on Astrology, and also in Placidus de Titus' 'Primum Mobile.' Both these authorities differ from the Arabic authors in their method of location.

"P. 132, l. 17. 'Exaltation.' The planets, also the Sun and Moon, are held to be 'exalted' in certain Signs, and especially in certain degrees of those signs. Thus the Sun is 'exalted' in the sign Aries and the 19th degree thereof. 'Altitude'<sup>2</sup> is an astronomical term which signifies distance above the horizon and should preferably not be used in this connection.

"The term *Almutes* refers to the Planet which has dominion in the 11th House, or the House of Friends and Allies. *Alchooden*, or *Alchooden* (whichever may be the correct form) refers to the planet which has dominion in the 12th House, or House of Enemies. It has not any connection with the Hyleg, as Mr Shirley seems to think.

"The term *Kad-khudd* (Lord of the House) refers to the Planet which rules the Sign in which the Hyleg is found at birth. Thus if the Sun were so qualified as Hyleg and were in the sign Scorpio, then the planet Mars would be the *Kad-khudd*.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Gornold sends me the following note: "Of Placidus de Titus, who first rendered a studied version of Ptolemy's work on Astrology, we have very little information. It appears that he was known as Didacus Placidus, and was a native of Bologna, became a monk, and was appointed mathematician to the Archduke Leopold of Austria. He wrote in the early part of the seventeenth century a work entitled the 'Primum Mobile,' in which he gives a thorough digest of the teaching of Ptolemy. The best English translation is by Cooper. Placidus showed that Ptolemy recognized two sets of directions arising out of two sets of planetary positions, one in the Zodiac and the other in the World, i.e. in the prime vertical. To Placidus remains the credit of having elaborated that part of directional Astrology which has regrettably all directions *in mundo*."

<sup>2</sup> I originally translated *Sharaf* by this term, but have corrected it according to Mr Gornold's suggestion.

# GENERAL INDEX

In this Index I have followed the same plan as that adopted in my *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*. Where numerous references occur under one heading the more important are printed in Clarendon type, which is also used for the first entry under each letter of the alphabet, and for headings under which two or more homonymous persons are grouped together, either in chronological order, or in order of importance, or in classes (rulers, men of learning, poets, etc.). The letter b. between two names stands for Ibn ("Son of..."), and n. after the number of a page indicates a foot-note. The addition in parentheses of a number after a name, book, battle, or the like, indicates, if Roman, the century, if Arabic, the year of the Christian era in which the man was born (b.), flourished (fl.) or (d.) died, or in which the book was written or the battle fought. Prefixes like *Abū* ("Father of...") and *Ibn* ("Son of...") in Muhammadan, and *de*, *le*, *von* in European names are disregarded in the alphabetical arrangement, so that names like *Abū Sa'īd*, *Ibn Sīnā*, *le Strange*, *de Slane*, etc., must be sought under *S*, and *von Kremer* under *K*. Titles of books and foreign words are printed in *italics*, and an asterisk is prefixed to the former when they are quoted at any length in the translation or notes. A hyphen preceding a word indicates that the Arabic definite article *al-* should be prefixed to it.

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